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GERMAN EDUCATION and RE-EDUCATION

By

SUSANNE CHARLOTTE ENGELMANN, Ph.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

by

LEWIS M. TERMAN

PROFESSOR AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY

This analysis of the educational development of Germany from the time of the Empire unto the present day is the first of its kind: it deserves the attention of all those interested in the burning question of how to re-educate the German people.

The re-education of the German people may prove to be the most crucial factor in the preservation of world peace for generations to come. There will be no security until the German spirit has been demilitarized and humanized by re-education.

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By SUSANNE CHARLOTTE ENGELMANN, Ph.D.

Motto:

“It will be a gigantic task to try to recreate the moral defenses of faith, hope and love which naked brutality and unparalleled injustice have burned to the ground.”

SIGRID UNDSSET
in 'Return to the Future'

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INTRODUCTION

There is reason to believe that the re-education of the German people may prove to be the most crucial factor in the preservation of world peace for generations to come. The theory is no longer tenable that guilt for the outbreak of war and for the unspeakable barbarities inflicted by Germany upon her neighbors and upon her own racial minorities rests only on the shoulders of a few hundred or a few thousand Nazi leaders. Instead, this guilt is shared in greater or lesser degree by a large proportion of the general population. The barbarities were so numerous and widespread—involving as they did the dispossession, torture, and mass murder of several million Jews and additional millions of Poles and other enslaved populations—that they could not have been inflicted without the active cooperation of a population deeply imbued with racial hatred and dehumanized by fanatical acceptance of the *Herrenvolk* cult. How widely this poison had infiltrated the German mind is evidenced by innumerable documents, and by none more convincingly than the book, *Call Us To Witness*, written by an American missionary and his Polish-born wife, GAITHER and HANIA WARFIELD. Their objective recital of horrors and cruelties of which they had first-hand knowledge leaves one wondering whether a majority of German minds will not have

to be re-educated and reformed, and how much time the process will require. As every psychologist knows, re-education is a longer and more difficult task than education. The question is whether it can be accomplished before the allied nations grow weary of military occupation and withdraw every control.

If the job of re-education is not finished, the chances of a lasting peace are anything but good. Our present mastery of atomic energy is certainly no guaranty of security. It is officially reported that neither of the atomic bombs dropped in Japan utilized as much as one per cent of the maximum energy theoretically available. German scientists left free to experiment might conceivably multiply the destructiveness of the atomic bomb by twenty, fifty, or even a hundred. Even a tenfold increase in its efficiency might enable Germany to conquer all of Europe within a few days, or at most a few weeks.

There will be no security until the German spirit has been demilitarized and humanized by re-education. Defeat alone seems to have accomplished little toward this end. Reliable observers who have talked with hundreds of Germans of all classes are practically unanimous in reporting that they find hardly one who admits the slightest feeling of guilt or shame over the murder of Jews, Poles, and slave laborers.

Few authors are as competent as DR. ENGELMANN to assess the effectiveness of Nazi methods of indoctrination and the necessity of re-educating the German mind. During the Weimar regime she became one of Germany's outstanding women educators.

Dismissed from her position on the charge of "political unreliability" soon after Hitler took over, she remained in Berlin until her departure for America in 1940. Through her friends and former colleagues she was able to keep herself reliably informed on Nazi educational methods throughout this period. This ringside seat gives her material a degree of concreteness and accuracy that would otherwise have been impossible. Dr. Engelmann's book can be recommended not only to those directly concerned with the problem of Germany's educational reconstruction, but to everyone who is interested in the causes and cure of aggressive militarism and reversion to barbaric moral standards.

LEWIS M. TERMAN

September 11, 1945

FOREWORD

This book deals with the development of German education under three different political systems of the last three quarters of a century, the German Empire, the Republic and the Third Reich. To this survey and analysis an attempt at evaluating the possibilities of educational reconstruction is added.

There exist several books written by American educators who visited and admired the schools of Imperial Germany. The school reformation of the German Republic was also appraised by American eye-witnesses of this short episode in liberal education. In the last years several publications by American and German authors dealt with the Nazi school system, and the problems of German re-education have recently been treated in essays and books. The entire story however of the development and decay of schools and schooling in Germany from the Empire to the Third Reich has not yet been told.

The author of this book believes that there is an urgent reason for doing this now: Only if we know in detail what the German Empire and the German Republic did and failed to do in their schools can we understand why almost an entire young generation fell for Hitler. Only if we know exactly what Hitler has done to the young of his own people during the last decade, upsetting their table of values, destroying their human dignity, feeding them exclusively on a mixture of lies, illusions and halftruths, can we hope to avoid the mistakes of former times when the day comes to rebuild the schools of Europe.

The facts represented here are to a large extent based on my own experience. As a former student of schools and universities in Imperial Germany, as a teacher and school administrator under the Republic, as an observer of what was going on in German education in the years from 1933 to 1940 I believe to be justified in writing this comparative analysis of German education.

A year of graduate study in Bryn Mawr College before the First World War helped me more than anything else to realize the disadvantages of the famous German school system: Imperial Germany trained highly efficient specialists in many fields, but failed to turn the average student into a good citizen.

Being in the United States as a refugee from Hitler Germany, I witnessed this country involved in a gigantic struggle for the preservation of human rights and liberties abrogated elsewhere.

I should like to offer this book as a small contribution to educational reconstruction and reorientation that is under way now after the war in Europe has been won.

SUSANNE CHARLOTTE ENGELMANN

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have been written but for the encouragement and helpful criticism given to the author by Professor Lewis M. Terman of Stanford University and by the members of his faculty seminar to whom the plan and one of the chapters were presented. It is a heartfelt obligation to express my gratitude here.

I owe another debt of thanks to President Paul Swain Havens and to the faculty and staff of Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. for their invitation to be a Guest Scholar of the college. They so provided me with the leisure necessary to continue working on this book. Nor shall I forget the interest of faculty members and students of Wilson College in my lectures dealing with the subject presented here, which greatly helped me to overcome the difficulties of later chapters.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Lois Montgomery of the Department of English of Wilson College who kindly consented to correct the style of the manuscript.

To Professor Walter Kotschnig of the Department of Education of Smith College and to Professor Robert Herndon Fife of Columbia University I am greatly indebted for their comment and criticism and for their very kind interest in the publication of this book.

SUSANNE CHARLOTTE ENGELMANN

CHAPTER ONE

CLASS EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE

MOTTO:

"Which form of government is the best? The one that teaches us to govern ourselves."

GOETHE, *Epigrams in Prose*.

The system of education in Germany during the nineteenth century and in the years preceding the first world war reflected the class society it intended to serve:

There were first of all the elementary schools for ninety percent of the young population, grade schools, mostly separated for boys and girls. They were strict and efficient in method of teacher lecture and student recitation and gave the necessary instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and the still more necessary drill in patriotism, loyalty and obedience to the children who were to become the masses of factory workers, farm hands, artisans, as well as the cooks, house-maids, servant-girls of the 'ruling classes'. *

* Much has been said and more written in praise of the German elementary schools of the 19th century by American scholars who visited Germany. But it must not be forgotten that the reform of the elementary schools of the early 19th century initiated by Saevern and Humboldt and based on the great Swiss reformer Pestalozzi was soon, during the reactionary period of the Holy Alliance, falsified and perverted into a drill school for the 'lower classes'. Even Horace Mann, greatest admirer of the Prussian school system in America, concedes the danger of a system that kills the initiative of the child and expresses the hope that the Prussian system might in America be filled with a democratic spirit.

There were secondly the high schools for ten percent of the young generation, not for the picked best but for the sons and daughters of the "upper classes," though it is true that in a number of cases a gifted boy from a village or city elementary school found his way into a high school, assisted by a kind teacher or clergyman, worked his way through the university and became a teacher, a doctor, sometimes even a city or state official.

There were lastly the famous German universities, proud seats of learning and independent research, where the future physicians and scientists, the judges and lawyers, the clergymen and high school teachers, the university professors and administrators of city and state, spent three to six years after graduation from high school.

How were these men instructed and prepared for their careers? How did this system of class-education work?

The German elementary schools in pre-war times were all or nearly all denominational in character. Not that they were all founded by denominational institutions,—this was the case only in a minority of elementary schools—but they were either Protestant or Roman Catholic as far as teaching staff and student population was concerned. The Jewish minority also had elementary schools if the number of Jewish children in a community made such a measure desirable, as in the big cities of the Rhineland and in Nuremberg, Leipzig, Hamburg and Berlin. If there was only a limited number of Jewish children in a community, they went to the village or city grade school and had religious instruction in their faith by a Rabbi.

Religious instruction was indeed and always had been one of the most important required subjects in all elementary schools of Germany during the Empire. It was given in the Protestant schools by elementary school teachers who had been prepared for Bible and Catechism instruction in their teacher seminars, and in the Roman Catholic schools by priests. Nobody in these times ever doubted the necessity or desirability of having the young instructed in the Christian faith. Socialist and communist mothers often affirmed that, though they themselves did not go to church any more, they wanted their children to learn the Ten Commandments and the Catechism.

The entire curriculum of the elementary school was selected and supervised by the states regardless of the fact that at least in Prussia only few elementary schools were state-supported, the greater majority being city schools. The towns and cities of Imperial Germany had city school departments in charge of city school superintendents; but these were only administrative bodies concerned with school buildings and equipment, teachers' salaries, etc. Every German state within the Empire—Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, Baden and so on—had its own ministry of education and department of elementary education within this ministry and hence ruled and supervised the schools. Parents had no say in the matter of elementary school education in Imperial Germany, in fact very little influence on school educa-

tion of any kind, but were legally bound to send their children to school from the age of six to fourteen.*

It is true that in the course of the nineteenth century the curricula of elementary schools had undergone important revisions and reformations. History and geography of the Fatherland, some science, drawing, singing, gymnastics, needlework for the girls, wood-work such as carpentering for the boys, had been added to the curricula, and the former three-grade schools were developed

* The period of compulsory school attendance varied slightly in the different German states but was on the whole fixed to cover the years from six to fourteen and was very strictly enforced by law. Within the course of the nineteenth century compulsory school attendance was extended to cover the years from 14 to 18 both for boys and girls who did not attend any middle, high or trade school. They had to go to "continuation school" for six weekly periods, and their employers and parents were legally bound to see to it that they attended school. This compulsory education of the young dates far back into the 15th and 16th centuries, at least for Saxony and Wuerttemberg, and undoubtedly did much to improve the trade and commercial efficiency of the young generation. Continuation school curricula and methods were under the strictest government control of a special board, the "Landesgewerbeamt." In earlier times this instruction had been given on Sunday mornings and had also covered some moral and religious lessons; later it was given evenings and shortly before the first world war the six compulsory weekly periods of the continuation school were crowded into one morning a week.

Professor Frederick William Roman in his book *The New Education in Europe* (New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1923) says of these schools: "Before the war the German people and even all foreign visitors to these schools were so occupied in admiring the magnificent results, that the question what might be the effect . . . of a system of education in which everything was done for the people and nothing by them was hardly ever raised."

into eight-grade schools in the towns and cities. It is also true that rich industrial centers such as Berlin, Mannheim, Hamburg, Frankfurt, seeing the advantages of a well-trained population, built and supplied better school-buildings, gave free milk lunches to underprivileged children, founded dental clinics and provided for medical inspection in schools, and that in some towns such as Mannheim and Charlottenburg the grade-schools subdivided their classes into groups for gifted, normal and sub-normal children.

But the village-school remained poorly endowed, with one teacher in charge of all children whom he had to instruct in groups simultaneously and whom he had to excuse from school ever so often when harvesting or other agricultural help was required from the children of the farm-hands by the large estate owners.

Indeed the elementary school of Imperial Germany as such was the step-child of the entire school-system owing to the drill method of instruction and—worst of all—to the isolated position and poor training of the teachers to whom the German Empire entrusted the education of 90% of its population.

For the elementary school of Imperial Germany was a blind alley, not the basis of the entire school system as it is in this country. In Prussia, the most important and the greatest of all German states, the well-to-do and the ruling classes sent their children to private or city preparatory schools attached to the high schools from the age of six to nine and then let them enter high school, so that they never even in early childhood mixed with the children of the working classes. In southern Germany

and in Austria this was not the rule, here the lower grades of the elementary school were the common school for all classes of the population; however the 'better classes' sent their children on to high school at the age of nine after three years in the grades.

But if a gifted boy from an elementary school was actually sent to high school in Prussia on recommendation of the teacher, the high school authorities insisted on his having attended elementary school for four years, thus making him lose a full year in preparatory studies, because it was assumed that he was culturally far behind the well-to-do child and was in need of a longer training period before he could enter high school.

Awkward indeed was the situation in which the elementary school teacher of Imperial Germany found himself. He was isolated from all other educated classes of society through the fact that his was the only profession that did not require high school and university training. The elementary school teachers were recruited from the elementary schools; after having graduated from an eight-grade elementary school they were sent to a special three years preparatory course, the so-called "Praeparande," that prepared them for the teachers' seminar, a three years' institute which exclusively trained future elementary school teachers.

Neither in these preparatory courses nor in the teachers' seminars did the teacher students receive a liberal education in any way comparable to that of the high schools. They were drilled in the elementary school sub-

jects almost exclusively, * had only a poor and insufficient schooling in one modern foreign tongue compared to two or three required ones in the high schools, had little training in mathematics and no Latin. Above all, they were not taught to use libraries or encouraged to free discussion in class but were carefully kept on the stage of teacher lecture and student recitation of the elementary school without the use of textbooks. In addition they studied the theory and history of education, were trained in music and got some practice in elementary school teaching, carefully following the rule of the "five formal steps" for every lesson of the theorist of nineteenth century education, Friedrich Herbarth.

Child psychology, the psychology of puberty, of the backward and of the gifted child, psycho-analysis—none of these problems existed for the students of the elementary school teachers' seminars until far into the twentieth century, while in the universities of their country and other lands the most interesting psychological research was carried on. **

In other words, the Prussian government *** tried to

* Compare Werner Richter, *Re-Educating Germany*, p. 54: "The traditional training of elementary-school teachers stifled every feeling for the people and all genuineness and simplicity by the despotism of the garrison mind."

** Compare Werner Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 22: "From about 1840 onward the elementary school teacher had been the *bête noire* of the Prussian state."

*** It ought to be stated here that this description of the school system of Imperial Germany is mainly based on the greatest German state, Prussia, but that different educational usages in other states are mentioned whenever they varied considerably from the Prussian system.

keep the elementary school teacher on the level of the drill master for the "masses" of the population; he was expected to be—and often was—a conservative loyal citizen, an orthodox or at best a mildly liberal Christian; he was comparatively well-paid, was entitled to a pension on retirement and could be promoted to the position of elementary school principal and even elementary school superintendent. But the supposition for his not too strenuous job and the civil security it implied was the strictest obedience to the government policy of education; he was expected to be disinclined to all "dangerous" innovations; he was supposed to keep not only the school children but also the staff of teachers and the parents in their places—if they should in rare cases come to his office and ask for an interview.

It is interesting to find out how far this state-enforced drill of the elementary school teachers into loyal and patriotic citizens and obedient tools of Prussia and Imperial Germany was successful: Throughout the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the German elementary school teacher clamored for admission to the university, which he was denied unless he went through the trouble of passing the very stiff university entrance examination, the "Abiturientenexamen." This meant for the elementary school teacher with his background of poor and insufficient preparation years of private studies of languages, mathematics and sciences in a country where evening high schools did not yet exist, at a time when adult education centers were only in their very early stages and correspondence courses in languages and other subjects were not yet known.

Yet the elementary school teachers were not disheartened. They founded teachers' associations, initiated evening classes and centers for their higher education, got liberal university professors to lecture to them and became exponents of progressive education in their country. They stood for a new approach to science teaching by nature observation; to drawing and painting as a means of expressing the imaginative and creative impulses of the child; to gymnastic exercises and games in harmony with the natural bodily growth of the children; to music, vocal and instrumental, as a realization of the rhythmic and melodious potentialities of the child, as a way to make the young appreciate beauty and a medium for the promotion of cooperative activities.

However, not the entire elementary school teacher profession was filled with these noble aspirations. Many indeed were satisfied to obey orders and to drill their pupils as they themselves had been drilled. Many were too poorly trained in their early years to feel more than a bitter envy of the "better classes" and were driven into the ranks of the political parties of the disinherited and the dissatisfied. But it is a fact that the impulse for the reform of the German elementary schools came from the teachers, not from the administrators or the theoretists of education, the university professors. Many of the reforms of Republican times could not have been achieved without the initiative and cooperation of elementary school teachers.

How far was the drilling of the pupils of the German elementary schools into loyal subjects a success? To answer this question one must remember the violent anti-

labor policy of the Bismarck era with its ruthless measures, trying to destroy the socialists by putting them virtually outside the law. Neither did these hard measures prevent the growth of the socialist and communist parties in Germany, nor did the enforced education of the Imperial elementary schools make the sons and daughters of the persecuted workers into loyal citizens.

Filling the gap between the elementary and the high schools there had developed during the nineteenth century a type of six-grade school called *Mittelschule* both for boys and girls. This school-type has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by American visitors who called it 'central school', so implying that this was the center of the educational system of Imperial Germany. But far from this, the "middle school" was simply a school for the children of the "lower middle classes," for shopkeepers and artisans and all those parents who wanted to give their children a better education than was offered in the elementary schools and found the curriculum of the high schools far too ambitious.

These "middle schools" filled a need indeed. They received children at the age of ten, the same age when a child from the grades could enter high school, trained them thoroughly in the subjects of the higher grades and one modern foreign language, and gave the whole school curriculum a practical trend, teaching the boys and girls commercial arithmetic, avoiding abstract mathematics, and adding domestic science and home hygiene with practical application to the curriculum of the graduating girls' class.

The faculty of these schools came mostly from the elementary teachers' seminars and had passed an additional examination to be allowed to teach in the middle schools; only in rare cases had the members of the middle school faculty a university training. But most of them were filled with a real zeal to teach and educate their pupils, and were unhampered by the overstrict and often over-ambitious programs of the high schools. When the Republic tried to weld the different isolated systems of education of Imperial times into one organic whole, many gifted students from the middle schools made their way into the high schools with most satisfactory results.

The German high schools of the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the first world war were of three different types.

There were the classical "Gymnasien," many of them centuries old, dating back to the times of the Reformation. They taught Latin and Greek as major subjects with numerous weekly periods and French as the only required modern tongue. Reluctantly did the Gymnasien adapt their curricula to the requirements of modern times, adding English as an optional second modern language and increasing the requirements in the sciences and mathematics. They were the most aristocratic of German high schools, keeping up very high standards of learning. They were frequented by students who wanted to go in for the learned professions, either from personal inclination or following the tradition of a family of clergymen, lawyers, doctors, etc. Many small towns, especially in southern Germany, had a "Gymnasium" as the only high school. So boys who wanted a higher educa-

tion but were not interested in or gifted for the classics were forced either to go to a school that did not correspond to their needs or to choose a school away from their home town.

The growing industrialization of Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century drew the interest of both teachers and parents to the necessity of schooling the young generation in the sciences and modern languages to a higher extent than was done in the "Gymnasium." This tendency led to the foundation of a second type of high school, the "Realgymnasium." This school kept up the tradition of Latin as a major subject but dropped Greek and gave the two modern foreign tongues, English and French, an important place in the curriculum. It also increased the demands on the students' time and energy in mathematics and the sciences. The "Realgymnasium" gradually won the recognition of its leaving certificate as entrance requirement for all departments of the university with the exception of theology and the classics, and it succeeded in gaining the place in the favor of the public the "Gymnasium" had held for centuries. But it must be said that the curriculum of the "Realgymnasium" overburdened the students with lessons and homework to an extent that could only be detrimental to their health and well-being.

A third type of high school founded during the later part of the nineteenth century was the "Oberrealschule." This type developed out of city high schools of the eighteenth century serving the needs of boys interested in the sciences and mathematics, the "realia": hence it had been called "Realschule." Originally it did not aim

at preparing its students for university careers, but was intended for intelligent and enterprising future men of business and industry. The "Oberrealschule" centered round mathematics and the sciences as majors, and offered two modern languages, French and English, dropping Latin as a required subject. It was intended mainly to prepare the future engineers, chemists and physicists, also the future leading businessmen of the country, not the lawyers, doctors, judges, and clergymen, who could not do without a classical foundation of their education.

In larger cities which could maintain several high schools of different types the choice of the high school was left to the students and their parents who could afford the moderate school fees. In the course of the nineteenth century the cities began to offer high school scholarships to gifted boys from the grades, giving about 1 per cent of the elementary school population the chance to enter high school at the age of ten. This percentage did not at all correspond to the number of gifted children from the grades who deserved a higher education. Besides, these town scholarships covered free tuition only, and many a gifted boy could not avail himself of the opportunity of a higher education because the family was too poor to support the son in a boarding home or to miss the wages he might earn as apprentice or factory hand at the age of fourteen.

All types of German high schools had required courses in German literature and composition, in music, drawing and physical exercises. The high schools had been open to students of all denominations since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The students received

religious instruction according to the denomination to which they belonged. So the German high schools of the nineteenth century, whatever their educational shortcomings, received Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish students; had teachers of different denominations on their faculties—with the exception of the minority of private denominational high schools—and so fostered the idea and ideal of religious tolerance. It is due to Wilhelm von Humboldt, the distinguished scholar and politician, founder of the university of Berlin and reformer of Prussian higher education, that this tolerant attitude was adopted and prevailed for more than a century.

The courses of all three types of high schools described above were of nine years' duration. After six years of successful high school studies the students passed a comprehensive examination that gave them the privilege of military service of only one year's duration, while the graduates of the grade schools had to serve two or three years. This coveted "Einjaehrigen-Freiwilligen-Zeugnis" (the one-year service certificate) made its owner a candidate for the reserve officer diploma and actually divided the young male population of Imperial Germany into the classes of the rulers and the ruled. That is the reason why so many boys of mediocre mental capacities crowded the high schools of the Empire, to their own disadvantage and often to the despair of their teachers, because their families insisted that they must pass the examination entitling them to become reserve officers, members of the ruling class, and considered it a shame and social dishonor if the boys could not come up to the mark. Those students, who completed the nine years' course and had entered at the age of nine graduated at the age

of eighteen after passing the stiff written and oral "Abiturientenexamen" under supervision of a state school superintendent which entitled the student to enter the university without further examination.

All high school teachers received their scientific preparation in universities and passed an examination before a state board in two major subjects and one minor. They were then trained for two years as teacher candidates in seminars attached to high schools before they were given the certificate that made them eligible for a position in a state, city or private high school. These seminars were in charge of high school principals and experienced high school teachers and gave the candidates the necessary training in the method of teaching their respective subjects besides introducing them into problems of administration and general education of high school students. The candidates had already passed a not too stiff examination in history of education, religion and ethics as a requirement of the first teacher examination.

What they really lacked was not only a sound basis of modern psychology, which they might have got in the universities but scarcely ever did because it was not required, but also a possibility of getting into touch with the students they were going to teach. For the German high school teacher of the nineteenth century lacked social contact with his young students almost entirely. The high school was an institute of instruction but rarely one of education. The gulf between the teachers and students was very broad, hence the over-emphasis of the curriculum, the strictest discipline, the frequent over-bur-

dening of the students, the lack of understanding of the youthful mind. All the great writers of fiction of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Hermann Hesse, Emil Strauss, wrote novels describing the suffering of a young generation in schools that overburdened them and whose teachers rarely understood the aspirations and longings of their students.

Moreover, the German high school teacher of Imperial times did not know the "working classes" of his own people if he did not happen to be one of the former elementary school boys' admitted to high school. If so, he mostly tried hard to make the other students forget that his parents were only "common people" by speedy adaptation to their standards of living. He usually held the reserve officer diploma; as a city or state high school teacher he enjoyed the many advantages of the teaching profession in a country so fond of teaching and learning,—fixed salary, paid vacations, good social standing. More often than not he was neither an educator nor a scholar but a drill-master for the higher classes.

It cannot be denied and must not be forgotten that among the German high school teachers there were many who really loved learning and upheld high standards of teaching. Yet liberal educators in the high schools were rare exceptions. The very fact that higher positions in the administration of the high schools—those of high school principals, city and state school superintendents, members of the provincial school boards and the ministries of education—were given to "reliable" conservatives almost exclusively, made the high school teaching profession into a tool of political reaction.

To what extent Prussian and Imperial high schools were reactionary in character may be seen from their method of teaching history: No attempt was made to make the students see and understand the great changes implied in the industrial and social revolution of the nineteenth century; of the constitution of Prussia and the German Empire even seniors of high schools had only the vaguest idea, while they were very wellversed in the history of the Hohenzollerns, the victories of the Prussian and German armies in the wars against France, the German version of the "right" to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine.

This lack of information about the vital issues of the state was intended to create "loyal subjects" instead of responsible citizens and made the catastrophe of 1914 possible: Then almost an entire population fell a victim to the propaganda of the Imperial government and for years believed that a war of aggression was actually nothing but the defense of the fatherland. The famous pamphlet of the hundred German university professors defending the attack on Belgium in 1914 only proves that citizens must be educated. No specialist, famous as he may be in his own field can be trusted to understand political problems that have been carefully withheld from him.

The school reform conference which the young Emperor William II. called and presided over in Berlin in 1894 made some attempts at reformation. The number of periods of physical education was increased, some extra-curricular activities such as rowing for the high school boys were encouraged, the establishment of play-

grounds at the outskirts of large cities was recommended. The expectations progressive women had held for years and had hoped to see realized through this conference, a sound reform of the school education of girls, were sadly disappointed. For the young emperor, whose mother, Queen Victoria's daughter, was highly interested in the liberal education of women, had already pronounced his restrictive program of a woman's sphere of activity which the Nazis so readily re-established forty years later, to the three Ks of *Kinder, Kueche, Kirche*, of children, kitchen and church.

The higher education of girls in Germany had been left entirely to private initiative in the first part of the nineteenth century. Only slowly and reluctantly did the states and cities begin to found "Hoehere Toechterschulen" beside the already existing private institutions and also to provide for teachers' seminars for the women teachers of elementary and high schools. It characterizes the lack of importance attributed to the higher education of women in Prussia that up to the year 1908 the department of higher education for girls in the Prussian Ministry of Education in Berlin was a subdivision of the department of elementary education.

All through the nineteenth century the so-called "Hoehere Toechterschulen"—the term means "schools for the daughters of the higher classes"—had curricula that avoided teaching the girls anything that might prove useful in the struggle for existence. No cooking, plain sewing, housekeeping but fancy needlework and watercolor painting; and beside these very lady-like but useless skills nothing that might develop an understand-

ing of real life problems; no economics and sciences based on observation and reasoning but a little of everything that made the young ladies able to talk in the drawingroom and at the dinner table, a little literature, art-appreciation, some French, English, Italian. No mathematics, which were considered unfit for the female mind, no Latin or Greek for the same reason. The educators who made the plans for this travesty of higher education had strange pre-conceived ideas about what was harmful to the female mind and acted solely upon these theories. In consequence of all this waste of time in the so-called higher education of girls in the nineteenth century, there was no real basis for any cooperation of the female part of the population in the solution of social and political problems: this made itself felt in Republican times when the German women received the right of voting and were in no way prepared to make use of their new rights and duties as citizens.

It was due to the indefatigable efforts of a very brave woman, Helene Lange, that the education of girls in Germany was gradually put on more solid ground. In 1887 Helene Lange sent a pamphlet on the education of girls to the Prussian Diet, the "Abgeordnetenhaus," demanding that appropriate funds should be set aside for the education of girls and that women teachers should cooperate in making plans for girls' schools. The effect of this courageous and sensible step was a roar of laughter. It seemed to the representatives of the Prussian people too funny for words to be bothered with the problems of the education of girls.

Yet Helene Lange was not discouraged. She founded the League of Women Teachers in 1873, established and for many years published the periodical "Die Frau," (The Woman) dealing with all problems of women's life and education, founded the first private courses preparing girls for the university entrance examination in Germany, and in her very old age became the first woman member of the democratic party of the senate of the city of Hamburg.

In decades of slow and often hard work she and her cooperators trained a new generation of women teachers able to instruct and educate the future German women citizens. She insisted on the foundation of better teachers' seminars for women as a condition for better girls' schools, she fought against the prejudices of an alleged "mental inferiority" of women and proved through the excellent records of her students who passed the university examination, with high honors before a board of hostile and ungracious examiners, that women can think when they are taught in the right way.

The year 1908 at last saw the doors of the German universities opened to women students on conditions comparable to those of men. They were then admitted as full academic citizens to all departments of the universities, were allowed to become members of university seminars, to pass medical and high school teachers' examinations and were at long last admitted to state and city high school teachers' positions.

The types of girls' high schools then established corresponded to the boys' schools described above. They were called "Studienanstalten" (institutes of higher edu-

cation) in the case of the girls and had about the same curricula as the *Gymnasien* and *Realgymnasien* for boys, while the "Lyzeen" and "Oberlyzeen" of the girls corresponded to the *Realschulen* and *Oberrealschulen*. One important difference between the boys' and the girls' high schools was that the German boys were exclusively taught by men teachers, whereas the girls received their school education both in elementary and high schools from men and women teachers. There were no coeducational schools in Imperial Germany, village elementary schools excepted.

The wide gulf that separated elementary and high school men teachers in Imperial Germany scarcely existed in the women teachers' camp. This fact is easily explained by the development of female education in Germany during the nineteenth century; as all women had to fight family and class prejudices when they wanted a higher education they all had a certain feeling of "belonging together." And as the only occupations approved by the "upper classes" for girls were the teaching and the nursing professions, many women had seized the only chance of some sort of higher education and had entered an elementary teachers' seminar though they came from liberal and well-to-do families. These women had in later years continued their studies when high school teachers' seminars were opened to them and had at long last often finished their professional training at a university.

This interrupted and difficult professional career of the first generation of university women in Germany had its patent disadvantages, and its not so patent but

very important advantages for the teaching profession: The women teachers, from kindergarten teacher to the university professor of Republican times, felt as one group of educators, they realized that the education of the young generation must be treated as one vast problem. So the German Women Teachers' League, the A.D.L.V., founded by Helene Lange in 1873, met every second year until 1932 and discussed educational problems of the entire young generation while their male colleagues, divided into the hostile camps of elementary and high school teachers and university professors, never discussed them on one platform.

The first years of the twentieth century, years of material progress of the Reich and of the growing shadow of political isolation under the nervous leadership of Kaiser Wilhelm II. were years of fruitful experimentation in educational circles.

The most important educational factor was the development of the German Youth Movement, born out of the growing dissatisfaction of young high school students with their home and school education. This youth movement not only developed hiking and camping customs among the city-born young generation, it revived the traditions of folk-song and folk-dancing, and, most important of all, it made the young feel responsible for the part they were going to play in private and public life. It was during the great youth rally on the "Hohe Meissner," a mountain in central Germany, in the year before the first world war (1913), that a whole young generation formulated their longings to lead their lives in "freedom and responsibility." This rather vague li-

beral formula reminds one that in Germany too a generation of idealists were killed in the years between 1914 and 1918, a generation that might have played an important part in the reconstruction of education in Republican times.

The second important factor for progressive education was the foundation of the first "country-home-schools" by Hermann Lietz, a liberal educator greatly impressed by the English Public Schools and their character-forming activities. Hermann Lietz was an idealist and a man of great personal magnetism. He despised the average high school teacher of his time and tried to interest private circles in an education that combined sound intellectual training with youthful out-door activities, a cooperation of student and teacher unknown in Germany until then, and careful vocational guidance of every individual student. He deliberately chose the background of simple country-life for the training of his students and separated the different age-groups, admitting girl students and women teachers into his school-homes, an absolute innovation in German education. Lietz had to appeal to the richer classes that could afford an expensive private boarding-school education; but his ideas proved so fruitful that they were taken up by a number of progressive educators such as Andreesen, Wyneken and Luserke and put on a democratic basis by Republican educators in the Country-Home-School Movement

The third important contribution to progressive education in the first decade of this century was made by the "Art-Education-Movement." This was sponsored by young teachers of drawing, painting, music and litera-

ture both of the elementary and the high schools. They held their first conferences in 1903 and 1905 in the little town of Weimar, once the home of Goethe and Schiller and a place where the tradition of German idealism has never died. Here they discussed problems of art education that have since become vital elements of progressive education throughout the world.

The German universities were all state institutions, * selfgoverning bodies under the supervision of the different state ministries of education. There never were any privately founded and administered universities in Germany. Scores of American scholars and students came to Germany all through the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries and testified to the excellence of research work done in the different departments of the German high seats of learning and to the fame of German scholars. The names of Harnack and Deissman in theology, v. Gierke and Staub in law, Virchow and Koch in medicine, Helmholtz and Einstein in physics, Hartmann, Wundt and Ebbinghaus in philosophy and psychology and numbers of others are so well known in this country that the outstanding work done in German universities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cannot be in doubt.

But the question that has to be asked here is not so much concerned with the high standard of research work done but with the part played by the German universities in the education of German citizens, and there the bright picture of scholarly research and freedom of learning is sadly dimmed.

* Compare Werner Richter, *loc. cit.*, Chapter 4.

Even the German university professors themselves, outstanding scholars though many of them were, could not be called citizens in the fullest sense of this word; they also were "Untertanen," supposed to be loyal subjects to their different German states and to the Reich, conservative or mildly liberal in politics. The universities, it is true, had the right to nominate their faculty members, but each and every lecturer and professor had to be approved of by the government of the state that supported the university. And though in Imperial times men of liberal inclination were frequently appointed "private lecturers" (Privatdozenten) at the proposal of a university faculty, it is equally true that men of outstanding abilities among the liberals had often to wait for years, if not for decades, before they received the coveted title of "extraordinary professor," and never reached the position of regular faculty member because of their political liberalism.

On the other hand the German universities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries granted a most remarkable amount of personal freedom to their students. They did not supervise their study time and plan in any way comparable to the English and American tutor or adviser system. The German student of the nineteenth century entering a university after nine years of almost complete control of every hour of study in high school and at home, was not only free to choose his particular branch of studies, but he was not at all advised as to what lectures he ought to attend to make a successful start and to attain the desired results. Vocational guidance offices in the universities were comparatively late developments of the twentieth century. The stu-

dents all through the nineteenth century were free to attend classes or not to do so, to read the books recommended by the professors or to do without them, to lead a scholarly life or to go to the dogs.

This astonishing and utmost freedom thrown upon a young generation not accustomed to and not prepared for it had most diverse results. Numbers of students wasted away precious months and even years, joined one of the students corporations, the Corps or Burschenschaften that vaguely correspond to the American fraternities and only saw their professors in the first and last lecture of the semester when their attendance had to be testified in their record books, but did not trouble to come to classes regularly.

Faced at last with the dire necessity of passing the rigorosum, the final state examination, after years of loafing, many had to be coached in the required subjects by private tutors and passed their examinations without having benefited from the spiritual freedom the German universities granted them.

This was frequently the case with law students who wanted to go in for leading positions of state and empire and came from the rich feudal families that had for centuries ruled the land. They usually thought it more important to belong to one of the student corporations that had vital connections for candidates for leading positions all through Germany, spent years in duelling, beer-drinking and other dissipations and not in serious studies.

Walter Rathenau, the famous Foreign Minister of Republican Germany murdered by two young Nazis in

1922, says of these students: "They looked down on the university pursuits, got through the necessary examinations by coaching, showed an inimical and challenging attitude with the exception of when they wanted to make valuable contacts, spent their time with dueling, drinking, dirty stories. Such figures were tolerated, nay acknowledged. They were destined to belong to those who rule the people, to judge, teach, heal and preach to the people. It is true that there were other representatives of the German youth, especially those that could not afford to live that life. . ."

The freedom of the German student, praised in hundreds of romantic songs and in scores of popular novels, plays and movie pictures, was very often the freedom from restraint, the freedom from discipline, not the freedom of the responsible and progressive future leading citizen.

The German universities knew no college life for undergraduate students, indeed no differentiation between undergraduate and graduate students as far as living conditions were concerned. Young boys just graduated from high school and never before away from home lived on their own in cheap furnished rooms, often in parts of the university town that were not at all desirable from the point of view of cleanliness and moral atmosphere.

It is true that the sciences and the medical studies demanded and achieved a stricter discipline through laboratory work and the closer contact with the professors and lecturers it brought about, that seminars brought the advanced students into spiritual contact with

professors and assistants and that the smaller universities had a certain amount of social intercourse between professors and students. Yet a gulf separated faculty and student body in the German universities; besides, the large classes and crowded lectures of famous professors were not favorable to independent thinking,—as Friedrich Nietzsche pointed out in one of his brilliant and bitter criticisms of the universities of his days, calling the lectures “a strange procedure of speaking and listening.” The practice of free discussions, so important for the development of the maturing mind and character, was almost unknown even in the seminars and study groups of advanced students.

Only in the last decades of the nineteenth century did the organization of the “unincorporated” students, the “free student associations,” gain a greater importance and develop study groups, demanding and at last achieving self-government of the student body, also starting a student vocational guidance system that was to play a more and more important part in the university life of the Republican era.

It is true of course and must be acknowledged that the freedom of the German universities, the danger of which had to be pointed out, had its stimulating effect on young men of real abilities. But the word of the famous German educator Herbarth, student of Pestalozzi and very influential reformer of the methods of teaching in the nineteenth century, remains true with regard to the system of university education of his days: “We must risk boys to make them into men.” Many boys were risked who did not become men in Germany.

When the German universities were at long last, more than three decades later than the Swiss and the English universities, opened to women students, the attitude of professors and students toward them reflected the lack of liberalism and humanism that was then prevalent in Germany. This first generation of university women had fought for their education, they were often superior in mental ability and always maturer in mind than the average student. This soon became evident in their seminar and laboratory work. But they had, owing to their outstanding abilities, often to experience unpleasant behavior from their fellow students and were not always sufficiently protected by the professors who were then generally not at all in favor of women students.

However, the excellent work done by the women pioneers in higher education brought its results; slowly the women students won the respect of the professors, the more liberal of whom proved really helpful. More slowly still did the students get accustomed to the competition and cooperation of women students. When in the first decade of this century the first generation of young girl students made its appearance in German universities, the atmosphere was already more friendly, the innovation of women students began to prove a success.

Even then it was interesting to note which students were willing to cooperate with and to respect women as fellow workers, glad of the subjective and objective enrichment of their study years through cooperation and competition with girl students: Those were exclusively the democratic elements of the student body, some of

them sons of liberal families, some the organizers of the new "free student association," and the small minority of students who came from the "lower classes" and had made their way through high school and university with difficulties and under privations. Most of the "corporated students" were quite at a loss as to the problem of how to behave toward women students. For evidently in their eyes they were not "young ladies", or else they should have been chaperoned by mothers and aunts. On the other hand they were certainly not the type of girls they were accustomed to kiss and take for pleasure rides—so what strange creatures were they after all? It took them quite a few years to find the right attitude toward the new woman element in the university. Often high school teachers warned their girl students from a university career after the opening of the universities to women students. This shows how unpopular this liberal measure was still in the Germany of the first decade of the twentieth century, and how long it took for the average citizen, accustomed to the privilege of higher education as a "natural prerogative" of the male sex, to realize that after all the female part of the population had a claim to the educational opportunities of the country just as well as the male.

Unfortunately the war of 1914 to 1918 interrupted a development of acclimatizing the young student population of Germany to coeducation and cooperation in the universities.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

MOTTO:

"Gentleness is not weakness. Individuality is not selfishness. Tolerance is not laziness."

Sir Archibald Sinclair

The young German Republic took one step that showed a basic understanding of the importance of education for the new state: she invited the educators of Germany from the kindergarten teacher to the university professor to a general Reich School Conference in 1920.

This Reich School Conference took place under the auspices of the Reich Ministry of the Interior, as there existed no Reich Ministry of Education at that time; education remained a concern of the different German states in the Republic as it had been under the Empire. Certain basic provisions, however, were made part of the Constitution of the German Republic and so became valid law throughout the Reich.

The Reich School Conference was opened and presided over by the Minister of the Interior, Erich Koch Weser, democratic member of the first cabinet of the German Republic.

The scene of action for this conference was the Reichstag building in Berlin, where in the Bismarck era so many oratorical battles had been fought between the "old chancellor" and the leaders of the socialists, Bebel and Liebknecht. It was this same building, an ugly gold-roofed baroque structure of Imperial times that gained a sinister reputation through the Reichstag fire at the beginning of the Nazi regime.

For all those who took part in that conference, either as delegates of cultural bodies, or as members of teachers' associations, or merely as interested observers, two scenes will stand out as significant for this first meeting of German educators under the Republic: one was the violent applause a few hundred elementary school teachers gave to Erich Koch Weser when he addressed them in the main hall of the Reichstag with the words: "Dear colleagues." The veterans of a long and bitter fight for recognition of their profession jumped to their feet and shouted themselves hoarse with enthusiasm for this simple gracious gesture. The other scene was enacted by scores of high school teachers and university professors during a short address of a member of the youth groups admitted to a conference of educators for the first time in the history of German education. A young boy, dressed in the garb of the Wandervogel-movement, in shorts and colored shirt, evidently feeling very ill at ease amidst so many representatives of the learned profession, bravely put forth some demands of the young generation for changes in the high school curriculum, management and method. It is with a deep feeling of shame that one remembers the scornful laughter with

which this declaration of a representative of the younger generation was received by the great majority of teachers and professors.

These two incidents illustrate the strange atmosphere in which the Reich School Conference was held and in which the plans for the educational reform of the new Republic were being discussed. This atmosphere was partly characterised by exaggerated expectations of what could possibly be accomplished at this early stage of development of the Republic; partly by the unwillingness or inability of numbers of teachers to understand what had happened in the breakdown of the Empire: that the class state was actually and irreparably gone, and that a new basis for the entire education of the younger generation in the new state had to be found.

When after a week of full sessions, committee meetings, hot debates and embittered discussions, the Reich School Conference drew to a close, its main results were incorporated into three important laws which became part of the German Constitution.

The first of these provisions abolished all preparatory schools attached to high schools for the entire Reich and made the four lower grades of the elementary school into the basis of the national school system (*Einheitsschule*). So the elementary school was transformed from a blind alley into the road leading to all higher education. Attendance at these four lower grades named *Grundschule* (basic school) was made compulsory and the prerequisite for entering high school, and only children whom a

school physician had testified to be unable to attend elementary classes were exempted from the basic school. *

The second important step was the closing down of all former elementary teachers' seminars and their preparatory classes based on the old eight-grade elementary schools. Thus the precarious situation of the elementary school teachers as only representatives of a profession who had not gone through high school and were not admitted to the university was amended. The result of long and heated debates in the different state parliaments on the form of the future teacher training institutes was twofold: Prussia founded special Teachers Colleges (Paedagogische Akademien), admitting graduates of a full high school only and training them for three years on a university level, while Hamburg, Saxony, Hessen and Thuringia admitted teacher students to the universities to which model schools and special institutes of education had to be attached to serve the needs of the future elementary school teachers. **

The third and perhaps most far-reaching change in German education resulted from the separation of Church and State which the German Republic inaugurated. This separation did away with all clerical school supervision which had been the rule in the

* This basic school was fought most violently by all reactionary educators. As the schools were under the control of the states, not of the Reich, certain states achieved a re-orientation with regard to the basic school. Thuringia and Bavaria reopened their prep schools and so never had a full Einheits-Schul-System.

** Kandel, I. L., *Comparative Education*. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1933, pages 565-585.

elementary schools, especially in the village school, and had been resented by all elementary school teachers. *

The Republic granted all teachers the rights and duties of state officers. ** The position of school principals was changed from that of a more or less benevolent autocrat to that of a *primus inter pares*. The moral and legal position of the individual teacher was raised; he gained the right to choose his own method, to cooperate with his colleagues in the setting up of the school curriculum; he had the right to vote in all teachers conferences. From now on majority resolutions of teachers conferences had to be carried out—provided they did not clash with general school decrees—even against the vote of the principal, and conferences had to be called if a number of teachers wanted to discuss certain educational subjects. All this was in strict contrast to the usages of imperial times when the “director” had the power to disregard the wishes of his teaching staff concerning problems they wanted to discuss in conference.

The Prussian Ministry of Education established a new type of high school besides the three existing types of Gymnasium, Realgymnasium and Oberrealschule: the “Deutsche Oberschule” (German High School). The curriculum of this new school centered around German language, literature and history, stressed art appreciation, current history and civics and reduced the number of foreign languages to two instead of three, English and Latin.

* Kandel, *op. cit.*, pages 142–144.

** Ulich, Robert, in *the Educational Yearbook of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936*, pages 341–361.

What made the "Deutsche Oberschule" of Republican times into an important educational experiment was the fact that Prussia established such schools in each of its twelve provinces in the form of boarding schools in order to educate the gifted children of the "broad masses" so long neglected by the class education of the Empire. * These schools were called "Aufbauschulen" because they represented an "Aufbau," a superstructure on the sixth grade of the elementary school, taking picked boys and girls from the grades at the age of twelve and preparing them in a six years' course for the "Abiturientenexamen" entitling them to enter a university. Some of these schools were separated for boys and girls, some were co-educational, an innovation in the history of high schools in Germany. Besides it was now decreed that wherever a town was unable to maintain two high schools separately for boys and girls, the boys' high school was to be opened to girl students and at least one woman teacher was to be added to the teaching staff. So the century old privilege of men teachers for boys exclusively was removed as far as the Republican small town high schools and the new coeducational Aufbauschulen were concerned, an important step to equality of rights for men and women teachers and students.

Large cities such as Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen also founded Aufbauschulen in the form of day-schools, and those children of the grade schools who were too old

* An important educational experiment with the type of Oberschule described here was made in the "Stapolas" (short for Staatspolitische Anstalten) which were established in the former cadet schools to train picked boys into future citizens of the Republic.

to enter high school at the prescribed age of ten but wanted a high school education now that they could get it—especially those who had previously distrusted the “class-character” of the former high schools—now flocked to these new institutes with enthusiasm.

As the entire German school system from the kindergarten to the university was now regarded as one educational organism—this is what the term *Einheitsschule* actually meant, a unified school system, not a uniform school—the task of selecting the candidates from the *Grundschule* (the four lower grades) for the middle and high schools became a major educational problem and a political bone of contention to boot.

It must be remembered that the German high schools of Imperial times had not selected their students for scholastic abilities at all but had received them from the preparatory classes (called *Vorschulen*) attached to the high schools. The children who went to these *Vorschulen* from the age of six to nine were sent there because the family tradition demanded a high school education. The only scholastic requirement the high school authority of Imperial Germany made was a mastery of the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic which can be drilled into any normal child at the age of nine.

The Republican high school entrance requirements provided that the *Grundschul*-teacher who had trained the same children for four years sent in a psychological characterization besides the school report card and a medical certificate of the school doctor for all the children whose parents had applied for admission to the middle or high schools. In some German states such as

Hamburg the state school boards with the assistance of university institutes prepared psychological tests which had to be taken as entrance examinations for the high schools. In Berlin the Central Institute of Education and Instruction (Zentralinstitut fuer Erziehung und Unterricht) offered the good services of its psychological department to the schools. Dr. Otto Bobertag, head of the Department of Psychology of this Institute, prepared and gave psychological tests based on the Binet-Simon method, comparable to the tests Lewis M. Terman of Stanford University developed and applied in this country.

About 10 per cent of the high schools of Berlin availed themselves of this opportunity. The rest, in actual fact the vast majority of German high schools, distrusted these new methods of selection and either gave a simple academic ability test in reading, writing and arithmetic as entrance requirement or were satisfied to receive students recommended by the Grundschul-teachers.

For students of the middle schools and also for boys and girls from the grades who wished to enter high schools, so-called Foerderklassen, coaching classes, were established to prepare gifted children for high schools. The whole plan was to make access to the high schools possible for the gifted student from any type of school, in striking contrast to the Imperial school system that had excluded the graduates of middle and grade schools from high school and university careers. Such "Foederklassen" did not only prepare boys and girls from the grades for high school at the age of ten, they also successfully bridged the gap between the Mittelschule and the

high school. Gifted graduates from the Mittelschule often became successful high school students.

In the years 1924 and 1925 the Prussian Ministry of Education published "Richtlinien," (Principles) for education and instruction in elementary and high schools which caused a storm of discussion, criticism and disparagement in the press and in educationally and culturally interested circles and which must be looked upon as the basis of the entire Republican school reform.

These "Principles" were the result of years of cooperation of representatives of the teaching profession with members of the Prussian Ministry of Instruction—now separated from the Church and called Ministry of Education, Instruction and Popular Enlightenment. They gave the German teachers a freedom they had never known before. Not only was every teacher responsible for his own method, he was also to select the curriculum that corresponded to the needs of his school in cooperation with his faculty. The "Richtlinien" were expressively meant to be general principles only, the individual faculty was to draft its curriculum that might or might not differ widely from that of another school of the same type.

As a leading principle for all schools, elementary and high schools alike, the "Activity-school-principle" (Arbeitsschulprinzip) had been incorporated in the Weimar Constitution. This was widely misunderstood and misinterpreted. It did not only mean the introduction of manual skills into the lower and higher grades, it meant the principle of basing the entire instruction on the ac-

tive planning and cooperation of the class and the teacher as a work-community.

This principle was put into practice in different degrees in the different schools. Its originators were Berthold Otto in Berlin-Lichterfelde and Jensen and Lamczus in Hamburg, Gansberg in Bremen for the elementary schools, Georg Kerschensteiner in Munich and Hugo Gaudig in Leipzig for elementary and high schools. Yet it is difficult to point to special schools and personalities that represented this principle exclusively or more vigorously than others. The time was ripe for a change from the old teacher-student lecture-recitation process to the cooperative activity of classes and teachers, and the new spirit of freedom from restraint and over-strict discipline expressed itself most happily in numerous and divers attempts to educate the new citizen for the new state.

It is necessary to dwell here on the important part the Berlin Central Institute of Education and Instruction played in the school reform of the German Republic. Founded soon after the first world war as a laboratory for educational research and experiment, this institute became a center for training and retraining teachers of all categories in new methods, new techniques and the new spirit of free enterprise. The study-courses, some of them short week-end conferences, some weekly or bi-weekly vacation courses, some full summer-school institutes, covered the entire area of elementary and high school education and instruction and were conducted under the auspices of state and city school authorities in cooperation with educators who represented the new

methods and the new spirit. The Institute also sent lecturers and teachers into different parts of the Reich to give model lessons, it showed the results of the new school methods in exhibitions of children's drawings and paintings, of handicraft and needlework productions from the kindergarten to the high school.

What made the influence of the Central Institute so astonishing for all those accustomed to the former ways of administrative coercion was the fact that it was a free enterprise, not a state board, though it was state-supported. This was the first time in the history of German education that a reform was introduced by persuasion, not by decree. This new freedom of choice was so astounding to all those brought up in the former methods that many did not avail themselves of the opportunities there. While thousands of eager young and old pedagogues attended the courses of instruction, the debates and lectures, many stood aside, unable or unwilling to cooperate without the strict command of the authorities to do so.

The most extreme and also the most active exponents of a total reformation of education and instruction in Republican Germany called themselves *Entschiedene Schulreformer* (Resolute School-Reformers). The president of their association was Paul Oesterreich, a high school principal of the greatest energy, idealism and purity of motive, though a radical socialist. Among his cooperators were Siegfried Kawcrau, principal of one of the first *Aufbauschulen* for boys in Berlin, co-author of an outstandingly modern history textbook for high schools—murdered by the Nazis at the beginning of the

Hitler era; Fritz Karsen, headmaster of one of the best known and most progressive experimental schools in Berlin-Neukoelln—now in this country, and Anna Siemsen, editor of the periodical *Das Werdende Zeitalter*. The *Entschiedene Schulreformer* did much to arouse and maintain interest in reconstruction of the school curricula and the reorientation of the methods of teaching among their colleagues by lectures, discussions, study-groups and conferences.

As the German constitution reserved to parents the right to demand a school for a minority of children if they did not approve of the denominational character of the existing elementary school, so-called *Weltanschauungs*—or *Weltliche Schulen* (secular and Marxist schools) were founded in considerable numbers at the beginning of the Republican era and were maintained to some extent in Saxony, in some proletarian quarters of Berlin and in several schools of Hamburg. These schools worked for a time without any plan or curriculum, trying to find a form of activity that should suit the children and teach them to cooperate, to orientate themselves in the community and to become active members of their school republic. Not many of these extreme experiments survived, but the seriousness of their pedagogical atmosphere—comparable to the Russian experimental schools and, to some extent, to the Progressive Education Association Schools in this country—cannot be in doubt.

Life inside the German elementary and high schools of Republican times began to take on quite a different aspect from that of the by-gone era of the Empire.

Though instruction in all the many required subjects of the school curriculum continued to play an important part; though written and oral tests in the languages, mathematics and the sciences were still part and parcel of the required school work, the spirit of free cooperative activities began to pervade the schools.

This new spirit was most evident in the change of method in history teaching; "current events" and the reading and evaluation of source material (biographies, letters, etc.), and also of articles from newspapers and periodicals of different parties began to replace the lecture and textbook method of former times. An understanding of the cultural development in history rather than a glorification of wars and victories was aimed at, and the high principles of the Weimar Constitution to bring up the young generation in the spirit of mutual understanding and reconciliation (*im Geiste des deutschen Volkes und der Voelkerversoehnung*) were put into practice in many of the new schools.

School libraries, long neglected in Imperial times, were being re-made in a new and liberal way of selecting good classic and modern reading material for the young. Reading rooms inside the school buildings were an innovation welcomed especially by those students of high schools who came from proletarian families and did not have well-equipped libraries at home.

A new decree required the students of every class to elect two "speakers" whose charge it was to express the wishes of their comrades to the faculty and the principal of the school. A member of the faculty was chosen by the committee of speakers to be their adviser, and to act

as intermediary between the faculty and the student body in case of clashes of opinion. These measures were of course intended to be first steps in the direction of student self-government, but only a small number of the high schools developed a self-government system that deserved that name. Why there were not more students willing and ready to cooperate in the life and administration of their school will have to be discussed later.

Study groups called "Arbeitsgemeinschaften" under the auspices of teachers for students who took a special interest in problems above and beyond the school curriculum,—such as Spanish, Italian, Philosophy, Play-reading and Play-acting,—became very popular, and their great advantages of free and informal group discussion without good or bad marks for achievements made themselves felt throughout the school.

Two innovations of Republican school life have to be mentioned here at some length because they show the general trend of educational development: the Wandertag (hiking day) and the Landheim-Movement.

The monthly Wandertag instead of the yearly school-excursion of the nineteenth century German high school had been introduced during the first world war as a pre-military measure to accustom the young to hiking and to strengthen them for future military training. This had then been a very unfortunate undertaking in view of the underfed school children of the years 1916 to 1918 and had no visible effect on the health and morale of the children.

But the Republican school authorities adopted the "Wandertag" as an educational measure and made it

into an important element of the school system. The very fact that all teachers now spent one day a month in the country with their students, rain or shine, spring, autumn or winter weather, had a striking effect on the relations between the students and their teachers, taught them to know each other outside the class-room, to share in healthy out-door activities, in nature study and the appreciation of beautiful landscape and historical buildings.

All this was true to a still greater extent in one of the most interesting educational developments of Republican times, the Landheim-movement. It will be remembered that Hermann Lietz, the founder of the first German Landschulheim, and his cooperators Gustav Wyneken and Alfred Andreesen had trained boys and girls in country home schools in the nineties of the last and the early years of the twentieth century, combining the advantages of boarding-school life in the country with its home-like atmosphere and healthy out-door sports with sound academic training and cooperative spirit of teachers and students.

In the first years of the German Republic a number of teachers, influenced by those educational experiments, began to found "Landheime," country-school-homes for the town-youths, the masses of school children of the big cities, the day-school students of the elementary and high schools. These country-school-homes, some established through the private initiative of parents for individual schools, many more set up and administered by the towns and cities, were put at the disposal of the schools which to an ever-growing extent began to avail

themselves of the advantage of weeks spent in the country by groups of students and their teachers.

These were no vacation-camps or youth hostels, though they very much resembled youth hostels in their primitive set-up. They were meant to serve the schools during the months of the school-year for study and cooperative living in a new atmosphere of combined country and home life. The curricula of the classes going into the country-school-home had of course to be revised, to make most of the opportunity of the surrounding country: nature study, drawing and painting in the open, swimming, hiking, skiing played a larger part in the country than in the town school, but work in languages, history, mathematics went on all the same as far as the absence of some teachers from the Landheim made this possible.

Nobody who has not lived for weeks at a time with young people from the big cities in such a country-home-school can appreciate what this experience meant to students and teachers. Very many of these students had never before had the opportunity of living in the country nor had they ever experienced the influence of a healthy school-home atmosphere. Regular habits, table manners, cleanliness of body and room, care of dress and attire, helpfulness and good comradeship were acquired without preaching through the good example set by young teachers and senior students. Here self-government became a necessity and a living reality, here child-psychology changed from an examination subject into the necessary background of all educational measures that had to be taken to protect the group from the possible bad influence of a sick or a maladjusted student.

Some Berlin schools were able to send out all their students from the age of twelve to eighteen into the country-homes of the city, three or four weeks of country-home life for each group every year, and many schools in other parts of Germany achieved the same standard of making the Landheim into an integral part of their school life.

Unnecessary to say that all this involved many changes in education, instruction and administration, that not all the members of the faculties were equally willing or able to adjust themselves to these new and formerly unheard-of duties of elementary and high school teachers. Unnecessary to say that the initial resistance and suspicion of many parents had to be overcome. But on the whole the Landheim-movement was not only a wonderful experiment in cooperative living but made the parents, hardly considered as a factor in school life in Imperial times, into most cooperative and enthusiastic supporters of this educational enterprise.

The Republican school authorities had tried to close the gap that separated the school and the family in Imperial times by a decree dating as far back as 1920 which ordered the formation of "Elternbeiräte," parents' committees, on the basis of universal suffrage of the entire parents' assembly of each individual school, and had provided that these parents' committees should meet at regular intervals and should cooperate with the principal and the faculty for the welfare of the students.

In the beginning of Republican times, when these were still innovations, the waves of excitement ran high, denunciations of teachers to the parents' committees

were no rare occurrence especially in the grade schools, and the atmosphere in which faculty and parent committee met was often tense and full of mutual suspicion.

But in the course of time the excitement subsided, the more constructive and educationally interested elements among the parents came to the foreground, frequent parents' meetings discussing the educational intentions of the government helped to clarify the situation, and on the whole the parent-teacher cooperation became one of the bright spots in the short history of liberal education in Republican Germany.

The deteriorating economic situation of the German Republic, the growing devaluation of the mark which made incomes and savings dwindle to nothing while inflation swept the land made scholarships of the Reich, the states and cities into very important educational measures. It must be said that the poor Republic did more for the education of gifted students through scholarships, reduction of school fees for parents with small incomes, better equipment of school libraries and laboratories, through construction of playgrounds, athletic fields, gymnasias and swimming pools than the rich Empire had ever done for its children. These scholarships were now available for boys and girls alike, for the Republic was the first political body in the history of Germany that considered boys and girls as future citizens as equals and did not think money spent on the higher education of girls an unnecessary expense—in striking contrast to Nazi usages.

Physical education, in Imperial times limited to two weekly periods of marching drill and work on gymnastic

apparatus in the gymnasium for boys and girls and one additional afternoon of games in the athletic field for boys became a major concern of the Republic. It had become necessary in the beginning of the Republic to establish milk lunches in the elementary and high schools to counteract the bad effects of under-feeding of the last years of the war, and medical inspection was extended to the high schools; dental care for the poorer children was made compulsory too. Women doctors were engaged for the girls' schools as far as possible.

The development of physical education in the early years of the Republic followed the general tendency of the time in a preference for methods more adapted to young children than the former pre-military drill. Folk-dancing and callisthenics were favored for girls, and the gymnastic dress now prescribed made it possible to let air and sunshine do their work on the bodies of formerly underfed and over-drilled children.

Yet one should not overlook that military circles began to take a growing interest in the physical education of the young. Not only were military fields and funds put at the disposal of the school authorities for athletic exercises, but in 1929 the Republican school authorities consented to the introduction of the Reich Sport Badge that could be acquired by young men and women through passing a stiff test in running, jumping, hurdle climbing, disk throwing, etc. Besides a new physical fitness examination was introduced into the high schools to be passed one term before the "Abiturientenexamen" which was considered part of the university entrance requirement. All this showed undoubtedly a growing

influence of militaristic circles on physical education and an attempt at replacing the military training which the Versailles Treaty had abolished for Germany by a greater stress on physical fitness in schools.

It will be remembered that German women had gained the full status as university-trained high school teachers only in the first decade of this century after many years of hard struggle for better opportunities of training and for equal recognition and pay. In Imperial times there had been no inclination whatever on the part of state and city authorities to let women teachers have leading positions in school administration and school supervision. Besides they were admitted only to the faculties of girls' high schools where they formed the majority of the teaching staff, but never to boys' high schools, until the teacher shortage of the last years of the first world war made women high school teacher substitutes an absolute necessity if the work in the boys' high schools was to be carried on. There had always been women teachers in the grade schools for boys owing to a shortage of men elementary teachers, but only private girls' schools had known women principals during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Republic, after giving the German women the right of voting that only a small minority had wanted and for which the majority had to be educated hastily and insufficiently through party-lectures and training courses, admitted women to leading positions in city and state high schools for girls, made some of them state school superintendents and gave them the opportunity of co-operation in the new coeducational experimental ele-

mentary and high schools besides adding a number of women teachers to the staffs of those boys' high schools in small towns that now admitted girl students. Seminars for high school teacher students were now in charge of men and women directors and inspectors, women were on the faculties of the new teachers academies and were admitted to the universities as instructors, lecturers and professors.

These were important innovations for a generation of future citizens of a young democracy. If the Republic had survived there would have been men and women accustomed to equality of opportunity for both sexes. There would have been men who remembered the cultural influence of women teachers and students who did not understand any more the contemptuous attitude of former generations of Germans toward women in the intellectual fields.

The first generation of German women in leading positions had to cooperate with men who for the greater part had not had the experience of coeducation and cooperation with women in their younger years, who still, to some extent, felt awkward and embarrassed in the presence of women colleagues and who disliked to work under women principals and inspectors. Yet some progress was being made during the years of the Republic: there were liberal men teachers willing to cooperate with their female colleagues on the basis of equality, there were also among the older generation some representatives of humanistic ideals who welcomed the female element of the faculties, there were among the parents quite a number who were glad of the wider range of cultural

and professional opportunities for their daughters and who did not even object to their sons' coming under the scope of womanly educational influence.

The young generation of girls who grew up in Germany in the atmosphere of freedom from the "inferiority complex" of former women were not always able fully to appreciate the advantages offered to them. Young people do not think in terms of historic comparison; they take everything more or less for granted. But quite a number of the more discerning among postwar German girls understood that they enjoyed a freedom their mothers had not known to develop their individual talents without a hard fight with family and class traditions, to choose professions for which they felt a calling, to be able to have companionship and competition with boys without constant supervision and interference.

The problem of religious education in the German Republic was intimately bound up with the ideological conflict between the political parties and with the struggle for power these parties waged within the Republic.

The Weimar Republic had separated State and Church for the first time in German history; she not only gave to the churches the right to be self-governing bodies and guaranteed to them freedom of worship; she took from them the right to interfere in public education. The elementary schools had hitherto been denominational in character, * Protestant and Roman-Catholic clergymen had often acted as elementary school superintendents

* Kandel, I. L., *op. cit.*, pages 142-143.

especially in the country. In the high schools of Imperial times the church had retained the right to inspect religious instruction but had not interfered with the teaching of other subjects.

Now any interference of the Church in public education had been done away with by the Weimar Constitution in theory. Yet in practice the problem of religious education remained to be solved and for years formed the object of the most violent debates in the Reichstag and the state parliaments. The socialists and communists wanted to take religious instruction out of the school altogether and to leave it to the private initiative of the home and the church. The Center Party (Roman-Catholic) and the old monarchists united in the German National Party (Deutsch-Nationale), but also the more liberal People's Party (Volkspartei) resented the attacks of the "leftists" on religious education and showed in the debates that it was by no means only religious concerns that moved them but that they feared and hated the freedom of thought and action the "common man" now asked for himself.

The compromise that was the final result of those struggles could not, of course, satisfy all opposing parties but was, on the whole, acceptable to the greater majority of the German people: religious instruction remained part of the school curriculum and was defrayed out of school funds if the parents wanted their children to take Bible classes in school. But in contrast to former usages of the Empire, parents who did not belong to any religious denomination could not be forced by the school authorities to have their children attend religious in-

struction. From the age of fourteen on, the students themselves were allowed to decide whether they wanted to continue religious instruction or not.

Another important decree gave the right to the teachers to give religious instruction or to refuse to do so, a freedom of choice unheard of in Imperial times, especially in the elementary school. School prayers were forbidden for a time by the first Republican Prussian minister of education, but were in later years left to the decision of the individual faculties, the members of which might take part in school chapel or not. The same right was granted to the students.

That the new prerogative of parents to decide whether they wanted their children to grow up in a religious atmosphere or not had led to the foundation of numbers of elementary schools without religious instruction, the so-called "Weltliche Schulen," has already been mentioned.

On the whole, parents and students in Republican Germany were quite decidedly in favor of religious instruction in school, as long as the individual child was not forced into acceptance of a creed or faith that was not in accordance with his own conviction.

The continuation schools of Republican times, a heritage from Imperial era and dating back to former centuries, but never strictly enforced for girls who were not factory hands or office- and shopworkers, were now extended to cover the needs of the entire young generation between fourteen and eighteen that did not go to trade and high schools. Furthermore, the former usage of deducting the six weekly periods of continuation school from the pay of the apprentices and office boys and girls

was abolished, as it was felt that the continuation school represented the theoretical part of apprenticeship or vocational training. This decree contributed to make the young understand that continuation schooling was a privilege and not a burden. Furthermore, much was done to make them feel that the lessons concerned vital problems, not only useful information. Current history and civics were added to the curriculum of both boys' and girls' continuation schools and first aid and home hygiene, cooking and sewing were popular with the young women workers.

The ambitious and far-reaching plans of extending compulsory education to the whole young generation under eighteen and make it worth while for them to attend classes were combined with a system of vocational guidance that had been developed by the new Ministry of Labor (Reichsarbeitsministerium) in cooperation with town and state vocational guidance offices. Vocational guidance under the German Empire had been more or less a voluntary social service of placement bureaus and no concern of the state. It was now put on a scientific basis through application of psychological tests that were developed to prevent the uneconomical choice of trade and professions by young people not equipped for the field they were choosing. The vocational guidance officers went into the elementary and high schools during the last semester, gave an introductory lecture on vocational guidance problems to the graduating classes and invited the students to individual interviews and psychological tests in the vocational guidance bureau in order to be better able to advise them on their personal problems.

The town and city vocational guidance officers were in constant touch with the Reich Ministry of Labor and in possession of the newest statistics of the labor market and so could not only advise the individual student with regard to his personal talents, inclinations and abilities but could direct youthful labor into the channels most needed and prevent overcrowding of trades and professions as far as possible. The whole plan had an individual and a national goal: to get the gifted individual into the right place, prevent maladjustments and loss of time and energy in the choice of trade and profession and to direct youthful labor so that it could be of greatest use to national economy.

All this would have been of the greatest value to the individual and the state in times of normal employment. But with unemployment growing by leaps and bounds—there were six million unemployed registered in 1929, and more than three million more not on the files of the placement offices, from among a population of sixty-two million,—these plans of vocational guidance were bound to fail. No doubt a more vigorous policy of work—provision on a large scale, a productive cooperation of state and city vocational guidance offices instead of much red tape and more routine work would have had better results. As it was, the disillusioned and disappointed young who had hoped for good positions as a result of better education, drifted into the ranks of the radical parties, the communists and the Nazis. *

* Compare Kandel, I. L., *The Making of Nazis*, page 96: "There is no doubt that the universities became the centers of strong nationalist agitation, the chief explanation of this is to be found... in the economic situation."

Only those who saw the despair of a young generation crowding the schools, the academies and the universities, eager to learn and to equip themselves with useful knowledge, skills and qualifications, can measure the amount of waste of valuable human energy that was going on in Central Europe in the late twenties of this century. This despair contributed to land us in the catastrophe of the second world war.

Some of the Republican governments who in a more and more hectic succession tried to stem the rising tide of unemployment and despair supported the private work-camps that had been set up by self-help organizations, the first being foundations of university professors and students of the university of Breslau. But in the face of more than twenty different political parties all clamoring for a share in public funds that were insufficient anyhow, there was not much that could be done.

Besides, the disillusioned soldiers who had returned from the battlefields and could not find work were—and they always will be—a serious danger to the morals of the boys and girls growing up in an atmosphere of defeat. In the late twenties a case of juvenile delinquency, the ill-famed Krantz trial, was given a most regrettable publicity in the entire world press as typical of the demoralization of the post-war German generation. But this case of juvenile murder or suicide—it was actually never decided whether a crime was committed or not—only revealed the situation of neglected youngsters growing up in an atmosphere of moral indifference, enforced idleness and easy access to cheap stimulants. That the resistance of the young to temptations is weakened by the

bad example set by their elders, by want of supervision, healthy recreation and productive activity, who would deny that today in the face of a rising wave of juvenile delinquency all over the world?

Among the educational achievements of Republican times, the reformation of reformatories and prisons, especially for youthful and first offenders, deserves to be mentioned. Here also the influence of women was at work: they had received the honorary citizen's right to serve on juries, there were women judges in the juvenile courts, women wardens in the prisons for women offenders and women in the police departments. A serious attempt was made to re-educate the prisoners into cooperative citizens by such educational measures as study courses, library privileges and graded treatment for convicts. In the face of the most inhuman usages of the Nazis in prisons and concentration camps all over Europe today, this effort of a liberal prison reform of Republican Germany ought not to be forgotten.

Adult education began to play a more and more important part in the German Republic. It had been a neglected branch of education in the times of the Empire, left to private initiative, and was more a case of lecturing to the leisured classes than a serious educational enterprise. But now the masses of people who wanted solid information on burning economic and social problems and the many who felt that their education had not been completed owing to the former class-system of education and to the war, thronged the evening classes of private and public adult education centers that gave information and instruction at nominal fees. There was scarcely

a school building in any city of the entire German Republic that was not filled with young and old students in the evening hours six days a week. Language courses, art appreciation, philosophy and psychology as well as political and economic subjects were in greatest demand, and the new practice of study groups and free discussions delighted all those students who in their school years had only known the drill of the question-and-answer or lecture-and-recitation methods.

The German universities could not fail to feel the great changes of Republican school reform in the changed character, attitude and spirit of the students now admitted to the high seats of learning. Not only did the numbers of women students increase rapidly, but students from the Aufbau-Schulen who mostly came from farmer and factory worker families went in for university careers in considerable numbers. Besides, there were older students who had interrupted their university training to fight and who were now, many of them, war-wounded veterans, finishing their training with the aid of refresher and condenser courses. As a crowning measure of liberal education, the Republic had published special university entrance requirements for students who showed unusual creative abilities in some field but did not have all the academic qualifications.

These new students, many of them considerably older and more mature than the regular students, enriched and enlarged the student body but did not fit too easily into the frame of former academic life of German universities. The German Empire had admitted a small number of students from the "lower classes" to the uni-

versities if they were specially gifted, but these were rare exceptions who, because of their isolated position, tried as far as possible to fit into the general picture by imitation of and adaptation to the general standards of academic living.

Now numbers of students whose parents had never thought of a university career joined the "free student association" that began to play an important part in the universities of the Republic and at the same time brought their own standards of life and work, of cooperation and self-government into the new sphere of university living. Students from the new schools, accustomed to free discussion and self-government, perhaps lacking some of the formal academic qualifications but far exceeding many former students in critical powers of thinking and active cooperative abilities, could not fail to influence the atmosphere of the universities.

The university faculties had also changed to some extent; owing to the policy of tolerance which the Republic professed and practised, professors and lecturers able to fulfil the high university requirements had been received into the faculties regardless of political inclination, religious creed or racial origin. The Republic granted unconditional freedom of research and speech to faculties and students within the natural limit of respect due to the state that supported these institutions.

It cannot be denied, however, that many university professors showed little understanding of the Republican school reforms. Complaints about lack of preparedness of the new students filled the reactionary party press. However, one should consider that it takes one or two

generations to get accustomed to new educational freedoms, to new standards of schools and schooling. The same complaints could be heard from high school teachers about the students they received from the progressive elementary schools, and even elementary school teachers, if they happened to be reactionary in method and over-strict in formal requirements, might and did complain of the "lack of discipline" of the young children they received from modern kindergartens.

Other discrepancies were of a social and a political nature. The new university students in their majority did not approve of the medieval customs of duelling of the old student organizations, the Corps and "Burschenschaften"; a decree of the Republican government formally forbade duelling as a relic of class-justice. This did not abolish duelling altogether but made it more difficult for the reactionaries among the students to indulge in this pastime.

There were, however, the alumni associations of the Corps and Burschenschaften to be reckoned with. Not only did many of these alumni belong to the rich and influential groups of the noble land-owning families of the Junker class and heavy industry, who in times of inflation and general poverty set up free lunch counters for their young members and tried to find them positions later on, they also exercised an important political influence which was absolutely reactionary. It must not be forgotten that as far back as 1927 circles of heavy industry had begun to support Hitler morally and financially in order to counteract the growing influence of the trade unions on the Republican government policy.

Thus the German universities reflected the lack of unity and understanding, the bitterness of political party strife of the Republic itself. There were, it is true, among the students some who attempted to understand the duties of leading citizens-to-be toward the state: there were discussions of political and economic problems initiated by the free student organizations, invitations to leading politicians, businessmen, poets, artists, philosophers, to present their problems to the students; there were the new vocational guidance centers and placement offices destined to deal with the student unemployment problem; there were—perhaps one of the most hopeful and far-reaching measures—student exchange organizations in every university trying to bring the intelligent post-war generation of Europe into contact with each other and with the youth from the Americas, in order to help them share experiences, to observe foreign political life and to form friendships that might some day be decisive for the political development of a new world order.

Yet the weakness of the Republican authorities, the inability to deal with political excesses of students in a vigorous and wise way, showed the growing decomposition of the atmosphere of good faith and loyalty to a common cause without which no education of the young of a nation is possible. In 1922 two young Nazis murdered one of the most unselfish German patriots, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Walter Rathenau, and the repercussion in the German youth circles of this premeditated and coldblooded murder was deplorable. The two murderers escaped, and, hunted down by the police, committed suicide in an old castle in Thuringia. For

many years their graves were decorated with flowers and were a place of pilgrimage for youth groups.

This was no isolated incident. A pacifist lecturer in the oldest university of Germany, Heidelberg, made a remark that deprecated war as a social phenomenon, but that his young students misunderstood as being directed against the soldiers who had given their lives on the battlefield. No amount of explanation of this misunderstanding could suffice, the lecturer, a very able man, was retired from office, as the enraged students refused to attend his lectures.

A few years later a similar incident upset for weeks the Engineering School of Hanover. This time it was a Jewish professor whose liberal utterances had aroused the wrath of the students. The Prussian minister of education promised that he would not give in, that the professor had the full protection of the government. The excited students committed excesses in the lecture building, prevented students who wanted to attend from coming to classes by bodily force—and got away with it. The professor was given leave of absence for an indefinite time, the students who had wanted to stand up for him were threatened and ill-treated.

This was the atmosphere of political rowdiness and brutal force in which the youth groups of Nazis and communists fought each other in streets and beer-halls, and this atmosphere gradually infected the schools. When Friedrich Ebert, the first president of the German Republic, a man for whom members of all political parties professed the deepest respect and gratitude, died in 1925, a high school girl of fifteen wrote an insulting and dis-

gusting sentence on the blackboard of her classroom, alluding to the former trade to which Friedrich Ebert had been apprenticed, that of a saddler, and expressing joy that he was dead. Such things can only happen if the discrepancies between the ideas and ideologies of state education and home training had grown so wide that no amount of good will could bridge them. The state schools professed tolerance of religious and political ideas, preached mutual understanding, tried to educate the future citizens of a free state in an atmosphere of respect for spiritual values. But not only did many parents not understand and not assist the attempt of the Republican schools to educate citizens; many teachers of the schools themselves, forgetting the oath of allegiance they had sworn to the new state, undermined the authority of the Republic.

When the last Prussian Minister of Education, Dr. Grimme, a religious socialist and a man of culture and abilities, visited the yearly athletic contests of the Berlin high schools, in 1931, numbers of high school boys, members of the then forbidden Nazi youth groups, shouted the Nazi slogans for hours on end. When the tenth anniversary of the Republican Constitution was celebrated in the Berlin Lustgarten opposite the old Imperial castle by delegations of all the Berlin high schools with songs, addresses, parades, athletic contests and prizes for academic and sportive performances, it could easily be seen by any unprejudiced observer that there was no real enthusiasm and that neither students nor teachers were filled with the right spirit.

What had been begun with so much eagerness and goodwill, the attempt to educate a first generation of free citizens for the young German Republic, ended in a catastrophe, because the state that had been built on the ruins of the German Empire was not strong enough to resist the storms of party strife, to overcome economic disaster, to steer through the straits of political rivalry and mutual hatred.

For years the reactionary party papers, misusing the freedom of press the Republic had granted them, had attacked every measure of the Republican school authorities. They called the monthly excursions "loafing," ridiculed the self-government of the high schools, they suspected the country-home-schools of educating the children to immorality, they undermined the authority of the state by denunciations of teachers who happened to be democrats or socialists. They sowed the wind and reaped the storm.

Fifteen years are a very short time in the life of a nation. The symbol of the German Republic, the black-red-gold of 1848, was torn down and dragged through the mud when the swastika was raised over Germany. The precious and invaluable gift of political freedom was given up, was despised by a nation not able to estimate what it had scarcely ever possessed. "What you inherited from your forefathers," said Goethe, "you must acquire to possess it." Freedom was not acquired to be possessed, one might even say that it was not inherited in Germany. The broad masses had never enjoyed it. They believed that they could easily do without it. The former governing classes were unwilling to give up the

class-rule they had inherited from their forefathers. They resisted the freedom the Republic wanted to grant to every citizen with all the power of economic and political pressure.

But the day is at hand when the attempts of Republican school reformers to educate free citizens for a free state will be resumed with better results—now that Europe has shaken off the Nazi yoke.

CHAPTER THREE

NAZI METHODS OF INDOCTRINATION

Motto:

“Of all the crimes which the Nazis have committed the coldblooded and systematic corruption of German boys and girls so as to make them pliable instruments of their foul purposes was perhaps the most horrible.”

Sir Archibald Sinclair

“When does the Nazi Party become interested in the German child?” This question was put to a high Nazi official of the office of Baldur von Schirach, Reich Youth Leader of Germany, by Gregor Ziemer, President of the American Colony School in Berlin, in 1939. * “Before it is conceived,” was the reply. If you add to this information many pronouncements of leading Nazis on the necessity of constantly training and retraining men and women in Party ideology, you get the correct notion that Nazi indoctrination covered the entire life of the German individual from the cradle to the grave. Let us find out how it was done.

Pre-natal care was carried out through the numerous offices of the N.S.V., the Nazi Public Welfare Organization, and through the Reich Mothers’ Service, both Party organizations that replaced all former public and pri-

* Ziemer, Gregor: *Education for Death*. London, Oxford University Press, 1941.

vate institutions dedicated to the care of mother and child. Besides giving advice and training in baby care and feeding, the N.S.V. instructed the future mothers in race hygiene, the fundamentals of Nazi philosophy (Weltanschauung), the master-race doctrine and the desirability of having many babies. * Country rest homes for women were founded in great numbers and were under the strict control of Party-trained matrons who saw to it that the future mothers and the women recuperating after confinement got a strong dose of Nazi lore while there. After leaving the rest home they remained under constant supervision through housevisits of Party officers and through "schooling-courses" of the Reich Mothers' Service. They were even trained to make Nazi toys for their children, teddy-bears evidently being considered too soft and unheroic for future Hitler youths. Needless to say, this care was only bestowed upon pure "Aryan" and constitutionally healthy mothers, those with hereditary diseases being compulsorily sterilized under Nazi rule. **

Pre-school education was formerly entirely optional in Germany and was in the hands of Froebel- or Montessori-trained kindergarten teachers under the auspices of church, city, or more often than not, private institutions. All these kindergartens and the training institutes for kindergarten teachers were radically nazified *** and

* Finck, Bertha. *Die Erziehungsarbeit der N. S. Volkswohlfahrt an der deutschen Frau*. Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft, 1938.

** Ziemer, *loc. cit.*

*** Arnold, Elfriede. *Der Deutsche Kindergarten 1940*. Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft, 1940.

the children from the age of two to six were trained not only in the Hitler salute, marching order and absolute obedience, but were taught to look at themselves as future soldiers of Hitler, to thank the Fuehrer before meals instead of saying grace, and to look up to him as to the savior of the German people. As more and more mothers were working in shop, office and factory in war-times and so were unable to look after their little ones, the number of very young children who were being exposed to this pre-school Nazi drill was growing accordingly. It was the Party that founded, equipped and kept many new kindergartens for Nazi children where they were fed, drilled and looked after. Their parents in a written statement must agree to every educational measure the Party may see fit to apply to their children. *

“The chief purpose of the school is to train human beings in the doctrine that the State is more important than the individual, that individuals must be willing and ready to sacrifice themselves for Nation and Fuehrer.” This quotation is taken from the preamble to the new teachers’ manual published in 1936 by the Reich Ministry of Education, the preamble constituting a personal utterance of the Reichsminister of Education, Bernhard Rust. **

Rust’s school reform of the years 1936, 1937 and 1938 was based on Hitler’s pronouncements on education in *Mein Kampf* where the Fuehrer decreed that “the fol-

* Ziemer, *loc. cit.*

** Rust, Bernhard, *Erziehung und Unterricht in der hoeheren Schule*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1938.

kish State . . . has to direct its entire education primarily not at pumping in mere knowledge but at the breeding of absolutely healthy bodies. Of secondary importance is the training of mental abilities. But here again first of all the development of the character, especially the promotion of willpower and determination, . . . and only as the last thing scientific schooling." *

The entire elementary school curriculum was centered around race-consciousness, the idea that the German people are of a vastly superior race and have to act, think and feel accordingly. "Self-confidence," said Adolf Hitler, "has to be instilled into the young fellow-citizens from childhood on. His entire education has to be directed at giving the conviction of being absolutely superior to others."

This flattering conviction was fostered in the elementary schools in the four main subjects: German, history, geography, biology. No more Grimm fairy tales of Little Red Riding Hood or of Little Snow-White and the Seven Dwarfs even for first graders. They were fed on Nordic hero stories from the Edda (a collection of Nordic sagas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries), or on stories of the first world war and of Hitler's rise to power. The publication of Dobers-Higelke, ** two professors of the Teachers' College at Elbing, on *The Practice of Racial-Political Instruction*, a manual for elementary school teachers, was quite positive about the duty of teachers to

* Hitler Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. New York, Stackpole Sons, 1939.

** Dobers und Higelke. *Rassenpolitische Unterrichtspraxis*. Leipzig, Verlag Klinkhardt, 1940.

instil nothing but pure Nordic lore into the minds of their charges: "We can through habit either falsify or develop the Nordic style of our children. We falsify it if we educate them to an attitude of contrition... advise them to trust the revealed dogmatically fixed truth... Therefore the usages of the Church aiming at the salvation of man which originate from the East... are a danger for racial education."

In history the elementary school children, according to Dobers-Higelke, must be instructed about the dangers to the German people of "spiritual alienation," whether it comes from the south as the "delusive idea of the *civitas dei*" or from the spirit of liberalism imported into Germany in the nineteenth century through the bad influence of the Jews, or more recently through the "political delusion of democracy... the strongest weapon in the hands of our enemies to outwit us." It can easily be imagined that young children have not the slightest idea what these high-sounding theories are about and simply repeat what they are taught.

Throughout the entire Nazi school system, elementary and high school alike, pre-history, elsewhere only a subject for university students, was being taught. Daring hypotheses about German accomplishments in the Stone and Iron Ages and about the Nordic character of the Greek and Romans were represented as established facts to the unresisting minds of the children. The authorities for these strange teachings were invariably Rosenberg, the author of the famous *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, and Johann von Leers. It is worth-while seeing what English scholars think of these "experts."

John P. Arendzen * writes in 1936 as follows regarding Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*: "The absurdity of it all is so grotesque that the harm it can do must be very limited. But . . . the author of this drivel is the chief official in charge of education in Germany . . . The young are hero-worshippers by instinct . . . and impressions created in youth often last through life even when development of mind shows them to be false."

There is indeed only one serious objection against Arendzen's criticism, namely regarding the "very limited harm" done by books like Rosenberg's *Myth*. It was constantly criticised by university professors and by clergymen of all denominations for its unprecedented violence of attack on the Christian faith. These criticisms were during the first years of the Nazi regime invariably answered by the Party with the assurance that Mr. Rosenberg only expressed his private opinion and that the Party could not be identified with a member's private utterances. In the meantime the book was officially recommended and used as a textbook in high schools, teachers' colleges and universities, and the entire history section of the Hitler Youth Primer** was based on it.

Julian Huxley comments as follows on Johann von Leers *History on a Racial Basis*: *** "His book is but a

* Arendzen, John P.: *The Friends of Europe Pamphlets*. In Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century*. London, Friends of Europe Publication No. 44, 1936.

** Brennecke, Fritz, *Vom Deutschen Volk und seinem Lebensraum. Handbuch der Hitlerjugend*. Muenchen, Verlag Eher, 1937.

*** Leers, Johann von: *History on a Racial Basis*. In *Friends of Europe Pamphlets*. London, Friends of Europe Publications. No. 42.

type of many that are appearing today in Germany. They not only tell history falsely but they undermine the historic sense of those who are fed exclusively on such intellectual diet." However, the undermining of the historic sense is by no means the only harm done to children by this sort of instruction.

No doubt the entire history of the German people, represented as one continuous heroic fight against cruel enemies, culminated in the triumph of Hitler's conquest of Europe. I quote from Dobers-Higelke the following passage: "Poland was smashed in . . . eighteen days, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France were conquered and forced to capitulate. The struggle against England is being continued until the plutocratic war-mongers will be annihilated. We are full of hope and faith that the German victory, the victory of Nordic humanity over Jewish-westish plutocracy, may not be too far away." Written in 1940, before the entrance of the United States into the war.

In geography the "Lebensraum theory," i. e., the necessity for German expansion, was brought home to the fifth and sixth graders by constant comparisons of German superiority of achievement to the inferiority of all other European races. For example, they were taught that in the Balkans and in Greece "man does not possess the creative will to reforest (the bare mountain slopes) . . . we do not find the exact and clean tilling of fields as in Germany. The inhabitants have not the will to improve their accomplishments and production, they are satisfied if they gain the customary yield from the soil." *

* Dobers-Higelke, *loc. cit.*

In biology the duty of the German boys and girls to be strong and healthy and to reproduce their kind was continually stressed, and sex problems were treated early and realistically.* The mystic blood-and-soil union was religiously impressed on the mind of the child and the master-race theory was played up, of course. Perhaps the type of instruction given to elementary school children in the higher grades is best illustrated by a model lesson in biology from Dobers-Higelke's book. The lesson is based on a picture of a Lettish peasant with the ruins of a castle in the background, evidently the reproduction of a photograph taken during the campaign of 1940. It consists solely of questions the teacher asks to which the children are supposed to give the correct answers:

“What will happen if prolific Poles and Germans with few children settle near each other or even in the same district? What would their villages look like after a few decades or a hundred years? Compare the German farmer at his work to the Lett. Why has he (the Lett) no machine? Why no decent plough? Look at his horse. Does it not look just as poor and sparse as the man and his tool? Look at the castle in the background. Who built it? Who lived in it? Who destroyed it? When? Why? Think of your history lessons and the people where the master layer and the broad masses were of different race . . . What did your father, what did your older brothers, relatives, acquaintances tell you of the Polish campaign? Of the incredible poverty, the self-complacency of the inhabitants, of dirt, lice, misery, ruin, indifference, trickery, cruelty?”

* Ziemer, *loc. cit.*

Certainly children exposed to such a hailstorm of suggestive questioning will stop thinking altogether and merely react with the desired "correct" answers that are drilled into them.

The teacher of German elementary schools has always been the main source of information, textbooks being practically unknown in the grades.

The Nazi representatives of educational theory, such as Alfred Baeumler, * Theodor Wilhelm, ** Dobers and Higelke, *** and Ernst Kriek, **** pride themselves on the assumption that they are now educating the whole human being, body, soul and mind, whereas they claim that the former German school trained the intellect only. Nothing is farther from the truth than that reproach. The Nazis have, it is true, increased the number of periods for physical education, but the Republican schools made, as we have seen, great progress in this field. Moreover, the schools of the Republic fostered the arts. Music and painting, art appreciation, theater performances, choir and orchestra practices played an important part in the activities of elementary and high schools of that

* Baeumler, Alfred: Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft. *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1939.

** Wilhelm, Theodor: Scholars or Soldiers? Aims and Results of Nazi Education. *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1939.

*** Dobers und Higelke, *loc. cit.*

**** Kriek, Ernst: Voelkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden. *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1933/34.

epoch. * All this was done to develop the emotional life and the social cooperation of the students as well as their intellects.

What was new in the theory and practice of the Nazi schools, and this applies to elementary and high schools alike, was a return to the strictest discipline, both physical and mental, as compared to the liberal tendencies of the Republican era; indeed it may well be called a return to the old Prussian school drill, an insistence on quick and unquestioning obedience which may be enforced by bodily punishments, at least in the elementary grades and the lower forms of the high schools. All of this, and an additional practice in the endurance of hardships and the overcoming of difficulties, was imposed on the young on the assumption that it was training them for the "heroic attitude," for the great sacrifice the Fuehrer can demand and that every member of the "Volk" is supposed to be glad to fulfill. **

In Nazi educational literature this theory and practice was constantly praised as a revival of the ancient Greek spirit of education; but if there is anything similar to Greek education in such drill, it makes one think of Sparta and not of Athens. One is reminded, too, that Sparta was only a short and rather ineffective episode in the history of mankind, and though the Spartan militaristic state defeated the democracy of Athens in the Peloponesian war it was in its turn overthrown by the military superiority of the Roman Empire.

* Alexander, Thomas, and Parker, Beryl: *The New Education in the German Republic*. New York: The John Day Co., 1929.

** Compare Kandal, I. L.: *The Making of Nazis*, pages 63 and 64.

Another aspect of this education mentioned by Ziemer is that the activities of school and Hitler Youth occupied nearly the whole time of the young generation. There was scarcely sufficient time for home studies, much less for voluntary reading, and the influence of the home was reduced to a minimum. All this was being done to fit every child into the same pattern of easily calculable mass reactions.

But the most grievous change German education underwent under the Nazi regime was the enforced misrepresentation of everything, cherished by other nations: democracy, humanity, or Christianity. Ziemer quotes an important episode from his visit to an elementary school near Berlin which very aptly illustrates this kind of indoctrination:

“The teacher launched into a devastating diatribe that made short shrift of the United States, that country which had joined the last war just to make money. He worked himself into an emotional fervor.

He explained that during the centuries there had been many men and women who could not get along in Europe. Most of them were criminals and crooks, reprobates and renegades... undesirables. Whenever they tangled with the law... they got on a boat and went to the United States. There they married each other. The children in turn mingled with Jews and Negroes . . . There are many other weaknesses as a result of this lack of racial purity... Their government is corrupt. They have a low type of government, a democracy. “What is a democracy?”

Answers of the students: “A democracy is a government by rich Jews.” “A democracy is a government in

which people waste much time." "A democracy is a government in which there is no real leadership." "A democracy is a government that will be defeated by the Fuehrer."

A further innovation, indeed, a total break with the whole tradition of education in Germany, was the introduction of the doctrine of race into biology, history, geography, examples of which are given in the Dobers-Higelke book. The Nazi conception of race and the master-race theory do not, of course, bear serious criticism, and the leaders of Adolf Hitler's school reform knew that full well. Ziemer quotes from Rust's introduction to his teachers' manual* the important words: "National Socialist ideology is to be a sacred foundation; it is not to be degraded by detailed explanations or discussions. It is a holy unity that must be accepted by the students as a holy unit. It must be taught by teachers who fully comprehend the true meaning of our sacred doctrine."

In other words, the foundations of this whole pseudo-scientific structure were so insecure that they could not be discussed in class.

The theoretical foundations of the National Socialist philosophy were thoroughly investigated by Frederick Kneller in his book *The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism*.** After warning the reader that he "must not expect an outside agent to systematize

* Rust, Bernhard, *loc. cit.*

** Kneller, George F.: *The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941.

theories that have little system in themselves," Kneller examines the claim of National Socialist writers that their philosophy is based on the great German thinkers of the 18th and 19th centuries, on Herder and Fichte, Hegel and Nietzsche.

Of Herder, an intimate friend of Goethe's, a deeply religious Christian clergyman, the editor of the first international collection of popular songs, *Stimmen der Voelker in Liedern*, and eventually the author of a brilliant essay on *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, Kneller says: "Herder advocated a warm approach to world culture; Germany's culture must fit into this world; it must not dominate it."

Of Fichte, the ardent patriot and hater of Napoleon, the author of twelve famous *Addresses to the German Nation* delivered in Berlin when that city was occupied by Napoleon's troops, he says: "Fichte wanted Germany to be a model, not a master nation." *

To disprove the Nazi claim that Nietzsche was a forerunner of National Socialism, Kneller quotes from Nietzsche's letter to his sister of December 26, 1887: "The Jews are for me more interesting than the Germans . . . I cannot tolerate such idiosyncrasies as anti-Semitism . . . I must reject such puerilities as . . . absolute submission to authority, and such vague expressions as Germanistic, Semitic, Aryan . . ."

* There can be no doubt, however, that Fichte's violent patriotism that led him to praise the German people as 'das Urvolk', the arch-nation, the German language as the only 'pure' European tongue, had a decisive influence on Nazi theory.

Although Kneller does not deny some influence of Hegel's state theory and of Treitschke's power-policy doctrine in Nazi philosophy, he finds the roots of National Socialist theory in the German author Lagarde's violent anti-Semitism, in the race theories propounded by Houston Stewart Chamberlain in his book *Foundations of the 19th Century*—who in his turn was influenced by the French author Gobineau—and last but not least in the anonymous author of a very popular book, *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, published in the second half of the 19th century.

The unification and simplification of the German high school system of which the Nazis were so inordinately proud and which they have so widely advertised as a triumph of their organization, * had largely economic and political reasons. As both the labor camp and military service were made compulsory in the years 1936 and 1937, absorbing three full years of every young man's life, there had to be a reduction of the time spent on education, or else the young Germans might not be able to make a living until so old that the Party program of early marriages and many babies would be wrecked.

Discussions on the desirability of reducing the nine years of German high schools to eight in conformity with the majority of other European countries had already been under way in Republican times. The reduction of the time spent at high school rather than at the university was favored by all high school graduates

* Benze, Rudolph: Die Vereinheitlichung des hoeheren Schulwesens in Deutschland. *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1937.

who wanted to go in for commercial or other practical careers and also corresponded to the demands of the university professors not to reduce the standards of the universities. Little did they know when these problems were first discussed how completely these standards would be wrecked in a few years' time.

But the reduction of the time spent at high school was only the beginning of the educational program of the Nazi Party. They wanted to reduce the numerous school-types of the Republican era to a very small number, again partly from economic considerations, since the variety of schools with divers curricula made it difficult for a student to change from one school to another without loss of time. The main reason for this policy, however, was the Nazis' love of uniformity and their definite lack of interest in higher education. "A wide cultural knowledge, a broad education . . . dulls the senses, a general assortment of information weakens, does not strengthen; too much universal learning tires the mind, paralyses the will power and the ability to make decisions," says the Reich Minister of Education in his teachers' manual of 1938. *

The three types of high schools that remain are the old 'Gymnasium' with Latin, Greek and French as required foreign languages, the 'Oberschule' with Latin and English as required and French as optional and the 'Autbauschule' that differs from the 'Oberschule' only in so far as the same curriculum must be covered in six instead of eight years—after six grades of the

* Rust, Bernhard, *loc. cit.*

elementary school—with French entirely eliminated. The 'Oberschule' had—at least until the beginning of this war—a branch that stressed languages and another that emphasized mathematics and sciences in the last three years; but this last remnant of liberalism, the right of choice of subjects for the mature student in conformity with his personal talents and interests, was abolished with the outbreak of the war, allegedly owing to the scarcity of teachers. *

All three types of boys' high schools cover the same 'central subjects,' German history, geography, biology, mathematics, though the last subject is somewhat reduced in the number of periods in the Gymnasium as compared to the Oberschule. Oberschulen are now the prevailing type, Gymnasien and Aufbauschulen the rarer exceptions. No town is allowed any more to have a Gymnasium as the only high school, a decree which necessitated quite a change in southern Germany where the Gymnasium was still prevalent. Every province has at least one Aufbauschule of the country boarding-school type for gifted children from small towns and villages.

Both the names and plans of Oberschule and Aufbauschule, indeed the whole school system with four years of 'Grundschule' (elementary lower grades) as a common basis for all types of high schools, dates back to Republican times, as does the institution of 'major subjects' for all types of high schools. This fact has never been acknowledged by the Nazis. George F. Knel-

* Krause, Gerhard: *Das Deutsche Erziehungswesen im Kriege. Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1940.

ler says in his book mentioned above, that "the Republic must be credited with successful efforts towards unity and clarity in school policy," and adds that "one must recognize that many of the educational practices National Socialism claims to have originated seem to be the direct outgrowth, even a continuation of ideals promoted by the Republic."

But neither the school type nor the number of years spent at high school marks the great contrast between pre-Nazi and Nazi higher education in Germany, but rather the entire change of atmosphere and method. The fact that the high schools in Hitler Germany abandoned the ideals of racial and religious tolerance makes the decisive difference. Neither Jewish teachers nor Jewish students were tolerated in Nazi high schools; the last were dismissed in 1938 in contradiction to the Nazi promise of 1933 to allow the Jewish teachers who had fought in the first world war and the Jewish students whose fathers had been 'front-fighters' to continue teaching and studying. This very fact marks the Nazi high schools as institutions that foster race hatred and that no longer value the ideals of western civilization.

As a matter of fact, the Nazi high school lost much of its former decisive role in education. It became one educational factor only beside the Hitler Youth. It received orders and plans from the Party-governed Ministry of Education; it had to suffer reductions and changes of curricula unbelievable in former times; its subjects were being taught under absolute Party control and varied greatly with the changes of the political

situation; German literature did not any longer mention the name of Martin Luther, nor did any Nazi reader contain religious poems or any poem of the great romantic poet Heinrich Heine, except the world-famous 'Loreley' which, however, was labeled "author unknown."

As to the methods of teaching, the teachers' manual of 1938 warned against too wide a use of free discussions, the pride of liberal education in Republican times, implying that such freedom was too dangerous a risk.

Another example of the radical change in German high school atmosphere was the importance attributed to physical education. It was not so much the increase in time allotted to physical exercises that marked the great difference compared to former usages, but the demand of very high performance in physical skills as the absolute condition for high school graduation and for entrance into any and every university career. This demand made physical exercises in the high schools into a strenuous effort to come up to the mark instead of a joyful and youthful performance to balance academic activities. The motto of the Nazi schools, 'be hard', should, as the Nazis claimed, produce the heroic man; it certainly produced the bully and the sadist. In any case it excluded the more sensitive and delicate but perhaps very valuable boy from all higher education and all leading positions. Neither Immanuel Kant nor Beethoven nor Mozart nor Goethe nor Schiller would have stood that strain.

Two more school institutions ought to be mentioned here, though their curricula do not differ much from those of all other Oberschulen, because they very clearly

show the political aspect of Nazi education: they are the Adolf Hitler Schools and the 'Napolas,' (short for National Politische Anstalten, National Political Schools).

The Adolf Hitler Schools were country boarding schools for picked boys intending to become members or even leaders of the Party. The 1938 volume of the *International Education Review* contained a short report of the building program for ten new Adolf Hitler schools, * to be equipped with all modern conveniences, gymnasia, playgrounds, swimming pools, laboratories, music and orchestra rooms, stage, radio, movie, etc., but neither church nor chapel.

It is evident that the Nazis planned to perpetuate through these schools the division of the German people into Party-members and non Party-members. The schools were sponsored by Dr. Robert Ley, the Labor Leader, and Baldur von Schirach, the Youth Leader of the Reich.

The Napolas were foundations of the German Republic, at that time called Stapolas (Staats Politische Anstalten, State Political Institutes). Most of them were former cadet schools of Imperial times converted into modern boarding schools to train the future citizens of the German Republic. ** Renamed Napolas by the Nazis, they attracted the attention of the educators of the whole world as a result of the wide publicity given them

* Die Adolf Hitler Schulen. *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft*, 1938.

** Compare the footnote on page 46.

by the Nazi propaganda machine which advertised them as inventions of the new government and only reluctantly conceded that the Republic founded twelve of them and the Third Reich only added five more.* The Napolas were administered by a special Party department under the patronage of the S.S.

What matters most was the way the Nazis adapted these schools to their goal of training the future leaders of Germany. The selection of the boys for the Napolas was strictly on merit, the fees being arranged according to the means of the parents. Two weeks' probational test eliminated those boys who, though recommended by the elementary school teachers and the Hitler Youth, did not seem to adjust themselves to the requirements of the Napola life. Any boy who later on proved unsatisfactory was summarily removed.

These schools existed to teach the boys the aims, ideals and philosophy of National Socialism. The most capable boys were gathered and their cleverness and intelligence was directed into Nazi channels. Life was characterized by strongly marked political motives and extensively used military forms. National Socialism was almost a religion. Numerous ceremonies, speeches, lectures, the insistence on thinking in terms of national inheritance and of service to the German community, were to ensure the 'right feeling,' the right *Weltanschauung*.

The Hitler Youth, the 'greatest youth organization in the world', as the Nazis proclaimed, grew out of small

* Krause, Gerhard, *loc. cit.*

beginnings of secret underground youth groups, was repeatedly banned in Republican times, and for years after the Nazis came into power it was not at all what it claimed to be, the organization of the entire German youth. Strong economic and political pressure was put on state and city officers to have their sons enter the Hitler Youth. The very young, inexperienced and often presumptuous group leaders who frequently clashed with the authority of the parents were not at all popular among the educated classes of the German people nor among the former socialist workers.

However, since the Hitler Youth in 1937 became a required and vital part of the education of every German boy, the stepping-stone to Party membership and the prerequisite for every career, a strict and efficient central organization under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach developed. The Hitler Youth had innumerable branch offices and unlimited money to spend on the education of the young generation in the spirit of the Party. * In detail were prescribed the lessons to be learned in the evening classes of the *Pimpf*, the *Jungvolk* and the *Hitler Youth* groups; (these being the names of the different age groups inside the Hitler Youth, the *Pimpf* comprising the boys from six to ten, the *Jungvolk* those from ten to eighteen, and the *Hitler Youth* those from eighteen to twenty when they may be received into the Party), the books to be read and the physical exercises in hiking, jumping, skiing and other pre-military and semi-military activities.

* Compare Ziemer, Gregor, *loc. cit.*

Every boy from the age of six onward wore the Hitler Youth uniform in the group and for all festive occasions and State and Party celebrations, a uniform that differed slightly for the different age groups but was on the whole modelled on the semi-military S.A. garb, black shorts, brown shirt and black shoes. Every boy had a 'Leistungsbuch', a record into which all his performances, failures and accomplishments were entered, acknowledged and retestified by his 'superiors' for his future career.

At the age of ten the Pimpfs, the youngest group, were solemnly received into the Jungvolk after strenuous marching and other tests and swore allegiance to Hitler. This ceremony was repeated with still greater solemnity at the age of eighteen when the Jungvolk was received into the Hitler Youth. The Christian Churches for years protested, but entirely in vain, against the practice of making young children and minors swear solemn oaths.

The Hitler Youth constituted at least as important a factor in education as the school; as a matter of fact, it was more important and more powerful because it was backed by the authority of the Party. It occupied two afternoons and evenings of the boys' time weekly, two or three weekends a month, several weeks of summer camping and military games and innumerable and incalculable extras for which the school and the home had to cede time. It was the Hitler Youth group leader who simply filled in a printed form to have a boy excused from school, whereas his father or mother had to have a doctor's certificate to have their child exempted from any school or group activity.

In view of the overstrict discipline and enormous claims on the energy and self-control of the young, what was it that tied them to the Hitler Youth groups when membership was voluntary and held them there? For it is evident that in spite of the official character of the Hitler Youth, there had to be a certain amount of enthusiasm and voluntary cooperation, or else even in Germany a gigantic youth organization built entirely on enforced regulations would have deteriorated and ultimately failed.*

To put this question touches a problem that goes deeper and embraces wider issues than can be satisfactorily dealt with here. It is the strange and terrifying mixture of falsehood and truth, of idealism and crude materialism, of lofty aspirations and brute forcefulness that made Hitler's (or Baldur von Schirach's or Goebbels') pronouncements so very dangerous for a young generation unaccustomed to criticism and unable to stand up in face of coercion and threat.

The Hitler Youth adopted the style of the older German 'youth movement',** with hiking in small groups, youthful group leaders, home-evenings with reading and singing and romantic nightly marches ending at a forest camp-fire with the singing of old popular ballads and

* It is interesting to know that a revolt inside the Hitler Youth actually occurred in Berlin in 1941 and was quenched by the Gestapo with mass arrests and imprisonments of the leaders of this uprising. This incident is represented in Vicki Baum's recent novel *Hotel Berlin* '43. (Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1944.)

** Schairer, Reinhold: *The Idea and History of Youth Movements*. International Yearbook of Education, 1938.

student songs. But in adopting these forms that appeal to nearly every youngster, they falsified the 'youth movement', as Hitler falsified every idea he claimed to represent. George F. Kneller says in his book already quoted:

"Anyone understanding the spirit of the youth movement is constrained to realize that this spirit can hardly exist under National Socialism. A youth movement in its true sense must grow, it cannot be organized. When National Socialism coordinated all youth organizations . . . it destroyed their life-giving element. Youth movements that are true and sincere of necessity lose their force when subjected to political control; it is freedom from controlled training and controlled learning, together with voluntary use of leisure time, that are their life blood—not the political program of the day."

It is important to know what exactly are the teachings of the Hitler Youth since nearly 100 per cent of the German youth went through this training. The book called in its English translation not very aptly the *Nazi Primer*,* heralded by a most interesting prologue by Professor Childs of Harvard and containing an equally illuminating epilogue by the former American Ambassador to Berlin, Mr. Dodd, was denounced in Nazi educational circles as unrepresentative of their ideas. But that is an old Nazi trick used as soon as any embarrassing truth leaks out too early. The years 1937-38, when the *Nazi Primer* came out, were the years of appeasement when Prime Minister Chamberlain made the Munich agreement. The book was certainly quite official

* Brennecke, Fritz, *loc. cit.*

and most representative. It bears in its original edition the title *Vom deutschen Volk und seinem Lebensraum*, subtitle *Handbuch der Hitler-Jugend* (Of the German People and Its Living Space, Manual of the Hitler Youth) and was published by Franz Eher in Munich, which is an additional proof of its official character; for Franz Eher was the former corporal of the former private Adolf Hitler and the publisher of Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*.

These teachings, drilled into the Hitler Youth in innumerable classes and recited at many Party examinations, cover the whole field of Nazi lore and in addition political and economic problems. There is the biological background of their race philosophy, the Nazi population policy, the historical development of the German expansion claim, the 'necessity' of conquering and ruling Europe. There are maps showing the former German territory and the 'shrinking' of Germany since the Middle Ages, there is the Jewish question dealt with in the usual fashion as communist world-enemy, the superiority of the Nordic man over all other races, and last, not least, the 'theft' of the German colonies and the Treaty of Versailles.

The quotations that follow indicate why the publication of an English version was so embarrassing to the Nazis in 1938. The chapter on race problems is especially enlightening.

"The Nordic race is uncommonly gifted mentally . . . outstanding for truthfulness and energy. Nordic men possess great power of judgment, incline to be taciturn and cautious, are persistent and stick to a purpose. They are predisposed to

leadership . . . The Eastern race is courageous, but not rash or bold, unwarlike, inclined to craftiness, lacks the spirit of rulers, compliant and submissive, always the led, never the leader. . . . The East Baltic race, no leaders by nature, need leadership, without a real power of decision in conflicts, always cautious, never resolute . . . The western men are much more ready to talk, lively, loquacious . . . Much less patience or steadiness, act more by feeling than reason, excitable, even passionate, lack creative power, have produced few outstanding men . . . Even today the racial ideas of National Socialism have implacable opponents. Free Masons, Marxists and the Christian Church join hands in brotherly accord on this point. The world-wide order of Free Masons conceals its Jewish plans for ruling the world behind the catchword, 'mankind' or 'humanity' . . . Now why do we find in Free Masonry, Marxism and the Christian Church this mistaken teaching of the equality of all men? All three are striving more or less for power over the whole earth, therefore they must necessarily be international."

The education of girls in Nazi Germany underwent a far more thorough change for the worse still than that of the boys. "The folkish State," Hitler declared in *Mein Kampf*, "can also direct the education of the girl . . . Here too the main stress should be put on physical training, and only after this on spiritual and last of all on intellectual values. The goal of female education has invariably to be the future mother."

So the elementary school curriculum for girls, besides teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, not only centered, as all German schools did, round Nazi ideology and Hitler idolatry, but was much more concerned

with early practical training in domestic science, with eugenics and biology than before. Domestic science had been a subject of elementary girls' schools in Germany in the last grade since 1910, and also biology and hygiene had been taught to some extent previous to Hitler. The new tendency, however, was to center the entire instruction round the duty of girls to be future mothers of heroes. A daily half-hour of sports and games and two afternoons a week on the athletic field for all girls were introduced to teach the girls that they were chiefly important as future mothers of the race and were just a means to this end. Girls also had to learn to bear hardships and to be strong in order to be worthy of the Fuehrer.

Sweeping indeed was the change in the high schools for girls. Since the year 1908 the German high schools for girls could bear comparison with boys' high schools as far as curriculum and method was concerned. They entitled their graduates to university careers after passing the final examination of the 'Studienanstalten', schools corresponding to the Gymnasien and Realgymnasien for boys, and they gave the majority of the girls, interested in higher education but not intending to go to a university, a good all round education in the Lyzeum, a high school comparable to the Realschule for boys.

A new type of girls' high school, the 'Frauensschule', had been established in 1917 and had in the time of the Republic been developed into the 'Frauenoberschule'. This school prepared girls for the duties of future wives, mothers and citizens and also trained the future domestic

science teacher and social worker. This type was developed into the one girls' high school in Nazi Germany. It was called Oberschule for uniformity's sake but bears no comparison to the boys' high school curriculum, allows the study of English as the only foreign language instead of the former two required and one optional foreign tongue, and reserves the last three years of high school almost exclusively for cooking, baby care, race hygiene and Hitler idolatry.

There was, it is true, still the possibility for girls interested in a university career to go in for more extensive studies, taking French in the last three years of high school besides mathematics and the sciences and some Latin as an optional subject. But this branch of the girls' Oberschule seems to have become the rare exception as was the Gymnasium for boys. The rule was the Frauenoberschule described above, and so the endeavors and achievements of the last fifty years in the education of girls, aiming at making women able to be responsible and cooperative citizens, came to an end for the time being in Germany.

Coeducation, never very popular in Germany but permitted during the Republic whenever a town was unable to maintain two high schools or whenever the parents favored this form of education, was abolished in Nazi Germany after the Kindergarten age, the whole tendency being to impress upon boys and girls the essential difference of sex and of their different duties toward the state. Girls in Hitler Germany were taught by men and women teachers in elementary and high schools. The number of men teachers in girls' high

schools was substantially increased in the beginning of the Hitler era to find positions for unemployed men teachers. There were no more women teachers in boys' schools. Practically all women were removed from leading positions in education which they held in Republican times.

All German girls from the age of ten upward were supposed to be organized in the B.D.M., the Bund deutscher Maedchen (League of German Girls), the girls' equivalent to the Hitler Youth. In actual fact the objections of mothers, especially of the educated classes, to have their girls organized in a compulsory way and to have them mix on an equal footing with factory and shop girls instead of choosing their friends among high school and college students, were very strong in the beginning of the era. Moreover, many socialist mothers were very reluctant to have their girls taken from their homes for two afternoons and two evenings a week for a party drill of which they did not approve. As late as 1940 some of the upper grades of girls' elementary schools in the poorer quarters of big cities had not more than 50 per cent of their girls in the B.D.M.

The pressure put so effectively on the fathers of boys to have their sons join the Hitler Youth during the first years of the Hitler regime, the threat of disadvantages for future careers, did not prove so effective in the case of the girls. For as the new Germany disapproved of all higher careers for girls anyway, the girls could not be so easily induced to join if they did not wish to.

However, as soon as the Hitler Youth had been made compulsory for boys, the propaganda for the B.D.M. in-

creased, and as the girls' scout groups and church clubs were closed down, the B.D.M., though not legally required, gained ground. It became the training ground for future women Party members, and was required for all future women teachers; it trained girls in first aid, race consciousness, state idolatry and physical education, took them on strenuous hiking tours over the weekends and accustomed them to camp life during the summer vacations. Besides the thousands of Hitler Youth boys who before the outbreak of this war were allowed to parade in front of Hitler in the yearly big Party rally at Nuremberg there were always a few hundred picked B.D.M. girls marching past.

If we may trust Dr. Ziemer's report on what he saw in the B.D.M. groups in and near Berlin in 1939—and there is no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of his observations—the fanaticism of the young B.D.M. group leaders and that of their charges could not easily be surpassed. The group leaders even encouraged the girls entrusted to them to have babies out of wedlock to please the Fuehrer.

Among the semi-military and pre-military educational innovations in Nazi Germany, the Land-Year attracted much attention and certainly was an important educational measure. It was planned in 1933 to take the graduates of the elementary schools, boys and girls at the age of fourteen, especially those of the poorer quarters of the big cities, into the country, make them live in country-home-schools, or youth hostels, and work part of the day as farm helpers in the fields, gardens and homes of the farmers. The purpose was to give these children whose ancestors mostly came from

the land an understanding of farm life and to arouse in them the wish to be resettled in the country. The instruction given to the children in the afternoon and evening classes was of course strictly Nazi, the discipline militaristic as in all Nazi schools. Protestant clergymen complained that the Land-Year was used to instil anti-Christian doctrines into the children who at that age, most of them just after confirmation, ought to have been received into the youth groups of the church at hand. But a contact with the village church was certainly discouraged by the leaders of these Land-Year groups. *

German Labor Camps were in the time of the Republic founded by patriotic students and other groups to alleviate the plight of the unemployed and to accomplish such useful and necessary work as road-building, soil-cultivating, draining of swamps, etc. These private camps, although encouraged and subsidized by the Republican government, became a matter of public and political interest after the Nazis had come into power.

For years the Labor Camps, just as the Hitler youth, were officially pronounced as voluntary service, though the Nazi government as far back as 1935 made a six months' training period in a labor camp the condition for entering a university.** Since 1937 the Labor Service

* Even before the beginning of this war the land-year experiment, one of the few constructive educational ideas of the Nazi era, was given up. It is doubtful if more than 30,000 children ever profited from the land-year.

** The Prussian universities already made a six months training period in a labor camp into an entrance requirement in 1933.

became part and parcel of the National Socialist education, six months for girls—increased to a full year as a war measure—a year for boys after graduation from high school, or at the age of eighteen before entering the army.

Reports from girl students who went to Labor Camps show that they found the work not too strenuous and the combination of farm work, lectures and community activities on the whole well organized. They complained, however, of the violent anti-Christian spirit of the camp and of the sexual looseness of numbers of the girls. This impression was confirmed by Ziemer on his visit to Women Labor Camps and his conversation with unmarried expectant mothers in the homes of the Reich Mothers' Service. An interesting item of the experience of some Labor Campers was that the girls sent out as farm helpers and mothers' aids in a number of cases experienced suspicion and resistance on the part of the farmers who looked upon them as Nazi spies. In the case of one student whose father had died in a German concentration camp the attitude of the whole farmer family towards her radically changed to friendliness when they incidentally found out that she was after all not a Nazi.

It was often doubted whether the military training in the new German army had any Nazi character. In the beginning of the training of the new army (1936-37) it may have been the intention of many officers to keep the army out of politics, to revive the old spirit of loyalty, obedience and military efficiency, even to make the army an instrument that might one day overthrow the Nazi

government. Attempts to do away with army chaplains and to introduce pagan doctrines into the German army were successfully resisted, despite the fact that the late General Ludendorff strongly urged the Nazi government to abolish chaplains, on the ground that the defeat of 1918 was due to the influence of the 'Jewish-Christian' softening of morale.

But since the different purges of numbers of German generals, since the creation of special S.S. formations at the front and the introduction of the Hitler Salute into the German army, nobody can doubt any more the Nazi character of the Wehrmacht. In 1939, speaking of totalitarian militarism, Hitler said: * "This policy must not only recognize its aim in dressing up every year one class of civilians as temporary soldiers, but in principle in educating the whole nation as soldiers and giving it a soldierly attitude," and in *Mein Kampf* he explicitly stated that "in the folkish state the army has no longer to teach the individual how to walk and to stand, but it has to be looked upon as the ultimate and the highest school of patriotic education," which left no doubt whatever of the Nazi character of the German army training.

The Teachers Colleges (Paedagogische Akademien) of the German Republic, those new institutes described above that demanded the graduating certificate of a high school, (Abiturientenzeugnis) as entrance requirement, were all fully and most violently nazified. Not only did they teach the Nazi lore of the nordic super-

* Hitler, Adolf: *My New Order*, New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939.

man almost exclusively, but they were hotbeds of the Nazi Weltanschauung drill.* A glance at the handbook for elementary school teachers quoted above, the 'Rassenpolitische Unterrichtspraxis', published in 1940 by two professors of the Elbing Teachers Institute, proves this to the fullest extent.

Besides, the Nazi love of uniformity made them adopt a measure of simplification of teacher training that had already been discussed in Republican times in educational circles but had not been put into practice: the first year of training in the teachers colleges was made into a common and required course for all those students who intended to go in for any sort of teaching career, elementary and high school alike. The Nazi theorists of education such as Theodor Wilhelm claimed that this measure would 'unify' the teaching profession.

The students were allowed to decide after this first year whether they wanted to remain in the teachers college for another two years and to graduate as elementary school teachers or whether they wanted to go to a university and become high school teachers. In this latter case they had to go through another year of student teacher training—instead of the former two years—after finishing their university course.

Much was said in praise of this innovation by Nazi educators, and just as much can be said against this measure: It is evident that high school graduates who

* Kandel, I. L., page 89: "The existing pedagogical academies are to be coordinated in the new political movement . . . teachers are no longer to be trained to be citizens of the world to educate youth in international ideals of humanity."

go in for such a year of teacher training before their mental horizons have been widened by a college or a university education can only get a very limited amount of benefit out of a teaching routine without the background of solid studies. It is just as evident that the decision to remain in the teachers college will mostly be based either on economic considerations or, more often than not, will follow the 'line of least resistance' which so many young people everywhere are inclined to take. For a decision based on real knowledge as to the different requirements and talents that make a good elementary and an equally good high school teacher the young students are far too immature and inexperienced. It is also very doubtful how much the future high school teachers, returning to their second year of teacher training after three or four years at a university plus one year of labor camp and two full years in the armed forces,— not counting the war years, of course,—will have profited by a teacher training they received at the age of eighteen.

However, all these considerations presuppose a freedom of choice with regard to vocations and professions that did not exist in Nazi Germany. The very limited extent to which it still did survive was a proof that even totalitarian organisation in its perfection cannot quite eliminate the personal factor. For in spite of the numerous lectures on vocational guidance to which high school seniors were being treated in Nazi schools, in spite of the individual interviews with vocational guidance officers and the advice given in school and outside to become elementary school teachers, there existed for years a teacher shortage in the elementary schools of the

Reich which even Dr. Rust and Dr. Goebbels with combined forces could not reason away.

Why did the organizations of elementary school teachers under Nazi control discuss the possibility of dropping the entrance requirement of high school graduation to fill the teachers' colleges, a requirement for which the elementary school teachers in Germany fought for nearly a century?

An article on the deplorable shortage of elementary school teachers in a periodical published in 1938, which calls itself—or rather called itself: *Die Freie Deutsche Schule* (*lucus a non lucendo*)—it was suppressed by the Hitler government shortly after this article appeared,—is very revealing, more revealing in fact for the things it does not say than for those it professes; yet it is very informative with regard to the Nazi teacher problem. *

The anonymous author began by stating the teacher shortage and then proceeded to explain or rather to excuse it with the tendency of modern youth to go in for more active careers such as the engineer and the air pilot. He also alluded to the 'sense of realism' of young Germans of the Hitler era which made them 'calculate' the pros and cons of a profession that demanded the university entrance exam but did not give its graduates full academic standard and pay. At last he made fun of the old 'paternalistic' ideal of the former village school master, quite forgetting that for more than ten years the picked graduates of the Republican *Aufbau-schulen* went in for teacher training in the new Teach-

* *Die Freie Deutsche Schule*, Fuerth I. B., Verlag A. Schorer, No. 3, February, 1938.

ers' Colleges with enthusiasm, that a new type of elementary school teacher was in the making and actually existent, combining the ideals of the German youth movement with sound psychological and professional training.

The reasons for the teacher shortage in Hitler's Reich given in this article are evidently of secondary importance only. The real reasons why Hitler Youth members could only with difficulty be coaxed or bullied into the Nazi teacher academies were largely political ones: for years the Nazi Party taught the boys and girls of teenage to make fun of their 'old-fashioned' teachers, to denounce and to despise them, to threaten them with loss of office unless they rendered lip-service to the Party program, to look down on the school as an institution that could not be wholly dispensed with but that had to take orders from the Party. No wonder that these same boys and girls, grown into men and women and proud Party members, did not choose to become elementary school teachers.

Besides the Hitler government had for years burdened the elementary school teachers that were in office, especially the village teachers with such an enormous amount of Party work, mostly red tape, but also with the irksome duties of collecting the innumerable 'voluntary' contributions to the thousand and one Party funds, that these poor fellows, even before the outbreak of the war, actually could not call their souls their own.

Recent statistics from Germany as to the number of teachers drafted for military service speak of 50 per cent of the teaching profession in the armed forces from the

elementary schools, of 40 per cent from the high schools. If these figures are correct that would be an even higher percentage of teachers drawn from the schools than in the first world war, and it came on top of the teacher shortage already dealt with. To fill the vacancies retired teachers will be re-instated as far as available, women teachers may be re-employed in the boys grade schools,—and for the rest classes will be combined, so that between fifty and a hundred school-children will be crowded into one class-room and instructed simultaneously,—if such a process can still be called instruction. *

Complaints of teachers about the sinking standards of German schools can be found in educational periodicals that reached this country from Germany shortly before Pearl Harbor. These complaints dealt with the long vacations at the beginning of the war,—necessitated by the use of school buildings as emergency barracks during the mobilization—with the many extra-curricular activities demanded by the Party from school-children, such as collecting scrap, running errands for Party officers, doing harvest work, etc. In the years from 1936 to 1939 it was an open secret and a cause for much talk and clandestine criticism that the Hitler Youth and B.D.M. group leaders, boys and girls between the age of fifteen and eighteen, were not being expected to

* Compare Kotschnig, Walter: 'Slaves Need No Leaders,' Oxford University Press, 1943, page 196: "Teaching, with anywhere from fifty to a hundred children in the same classroom cannot be fully effective . . . Indoctrination demands time and facilities which simply are not available."

recite on Mondays, because they were so tired from their strenuous week-end activities that they were allowed to sleep in class.

The state of the Nazi schools in the last months of the war can hardly be visualized when the mass evacuation of school children from the ever growing bombed and invaded areas was destroying the last remnants of home life, when in addition to the teacher shortage homesickness, fear, grief, and panic made themselves felt inside the crowded emergency schools set up in youth hostels, camps and barracks.

Adult Education Centers in cities and towns were all nazified, of course. The drill on blood and soil mysticism, race culture and other Nazi doctrines was carried on there, too; before the beginning of this war music classes and art appreciation courses were also offered and tours through beautiful landscapes, museums and historical buildings were conducted in cooperation with the 'Strength through Joy' movement, of the German Labor Front. Adult Education in the country was in the hands of the village school teachers, exclusively Party members, and was mostly concerned with agricultural subjects besides the usual Party drill. All public libraries were under absolute Nazi control and only issued literature in conformity with the prescribed Weltanschauung, all other books having been confiscated or burnt since 1933.

Besides these evening classes and lecture courses there is the Nazi press, under the strictest supervision of the Propaganda Ministry and the Reich Press Chamber, an important department of the Reich Culture

Chamber. In addition to the daily papers and the semi-official weeklies and monthlies that were showered on the reading public, there were the official National Socialist Schooling Letters * that were actually required reading material for all Party members, well illustrated popular monthlies that dealt with racial problems and other items of the Nazi creed on a level not higher than that of the Hitler Youth Primer. The Nazi press as well as the movies were under strictest Party control, the news reels and other political propaganda pictures were more often than not 'required' amusements for a population that did not any longer know the meaning of the word freedom of choice, even for their hours of leisure.

Then there were schooling courses for Party members and for state and city officers that had to be attended at least once a year, where elementary and high school teachers, judges, university professors, etc. were being retrained in Party lore. For a fortnight these trainees had to live and sleep in some camp or Hitler Youth hostel, get up at six in the morning, give the flag salute lined up like school children, don the B.D.M. or Hitler Youth uniform for this time, listen to lectures from Party members and march singing Nazi songs for several hours every day.

Dealing with adult education in Germany one must not forget the rigid supervision of labor through the Party Cells in every factory and office. These cells tried to control the political attitude of the workers through

* *Der Schulungsbrief*. Berlin, Reichsschulungsamt der N.S.D.A.P. 1934-1944.

threats and denunciations and 'educational activities', consisting in enforced evening classes with Nazi lecturers and the singing of Nazi songs. The 1938 issue of the *International Education Review* published an article by Inge Gerth-Rather on 'The Education of the Woman Worker through the German Labor Front' * which frankly acknowledged that the woman warden in every factory was responsible for the political attitude of 'her women', that she in turn was supervised and constantly retrained by Party officers and that the maternity benefits and other gratuities granted by the firms to expectant mothers were given on condition of attendance at the Party-supervised training courses of the Reich Mothers' Service.

A new and very important type of adult education in the Reich was constituted by the '*Ordensburgen*,' institutes that trained the future political leaders of Germany. These Ordensburgen were four castles situated in different parts of Germany, one near the Baltic Sea, one in Bavaria, another on the Rhein and the last in Central Germany, equipped with every conceivable modern convenience and even luxury as academies for the future leaders of the Reich. Here a selected group of 1000 former Napola students, after having gone through years of university training and military service, even through some years of professional work and extensive Party activities, were being retrained for their political careers. The exact study plans of

* Gerth-Rather, Inge: *Die Erziehung der Arbeiterin durch die Deutsche Arbeitsfront*. Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft, 1938.

these institutes were never published. However, besides an advanced program in history, economics, Party ideology, foreign languages and the usual strict physical exercises including horse riding and car driving, fencing, boxing and skiing, there were extra lectures by university experts on current events and problems of psychology and philosophy. Professor Harwood L. Childs of Princeton gave a lively description of these Ordensburgen in the foreword of the Nazi Youth Primer. These were the institutes where, if Hitler had had his way, the future Gauleiters of California, Mexico, Argentina and South Africa would have been trained.

The recent capture of one of the 'Ordensburgen', Vogelsang in the Rhoen mountains, by the United States armies, * brought forth a pamphlet by Dr. Robert Ley, Reich Labor leader and organizer of the Ordensburgen, entitled 'Der Weg zur Ordensburg'. Its contents showed how very well informed Professor Childs of Princeton had been when he wrote on these Ordensburgen as far back as 1938. There is only one new item that throws a sinister but very revealing light on the sort of education for leadership that went on in those castles, the training centers for the leaders of the master-race, which had not been known previously.

Ley says of these graduate students, selected for leading positions of Gauleiter, Kreisleiter, Reichsleiter: "These men to whom the National Socialist Party now gives everything that a real man can hope for from life, must realize and keep in the bottom of their hearts that

* Harold Denny: 'Captured Fuehrer's College Bares Nazi System for Leaders' Clique,' The New York Times, February 8, 1945.

they are now dedicated to the Order for life and death and that they must obey it without question I want to make it clear: These men must know and realize that from now on there is no road back for them. He who fails or would betray the party or the leader will be destroyed by this Order. Every man must know and understand that, when the Party takes the brown shirt away from anybody, the person involved will not only lose the office he holds, but he personally and his family, wife and children, will be destroyed."

Here we have the proof, if proof still be needed, that the training of the Nazis demanded not only blind obedience to orders that might horrify a man still able to listen to the voice of his conscience, but that the Nazis threatened their very picked leaders with 'destruction' not only of themselves but of their entire families. Wives and children of these future leaders—also of the leaders in office of course,—were in actual fact hostages for the Nazi government, to be 'destroyed' if their respective husbands and fathers failed to obey the orders of the Party.

What were the universities of Hitler Germany doing? How far had these once proud seats of learning and independent research remained intact? Not only did the Nazi government in 1933 dismiss all Jewish and all socialist professors and many others of world fame who did not want to conform to Nazi regulations, but they destroyed freedom of research and freedom of utterance both for professors and students.

The 550th jubilee of the oldest German university, Heidelberg, in 1936 gave occasion to the Reich Minister

of Education, Bernhard Rust, and to the President of the University, Ernst Krieck, to proclaim before all the world the principles that governed Nazi Germany with regard to free thought and free research.* Rust quite unashamedly declared that they had dismissed a number of eminent scholars for political reasons, claiming that they had misused the liberty of the teaching profession to undermine the state—a patent untruth. He only mentioned the Jewish professors who could not be allowed to continue teaching because, being of foreign race, they could not understand the German people, and then proceeded to explain the attitude of the Nazi government toward freedom of research and teaching.

He claimed that the German universities were being “radically remade in harmony with the philosophy of National Socialism,” called it “inevitable that the citadels of learning should feel the force of the revolution” and declared: “The question whether science is free or not free is really a pseudo-question. Not free, in that it is rooted in something other than science, namely philosophy. Free in that it can choose the molds in which to cast its specific interpretation of reality.” In the clear and simple language of logical thought, this was the declaration of bankruptcy of German scientific thinking under the Nazi regime, for what Rust calls ‘philosophy’ is the pseudo-scientific mysticism called *Weltanschauung* analysed above.

* Krieck, Ernst: *The Objectivity of Science, A Crucial Problem*. Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1936, and Rust, Bernhard *National Socialism and the Pursuit of Learning*, Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1936.

What impressions did an American scholar gain in different German universities in 1938 and 1939? Dr. Gregor Ziemer * visited the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Halle, Marburg and spent some time of post-graduate study in Berlin and Heidelberg. He found all these once famous universities transformed into Nazi camps, professors and students in Party uniforms, all independent research suppressed or neglected, every subject adjusted to Nazi Weltanschauung. The students were burdened with Party activities and not interested in anything that could not at once be applied to military or political use. They were excused from classes and lectures whenever Party activities clashed with the university schedule. The professors were supposed to show special consideration to students whom outstanding Party activity had prevented from working for their examinations. Student self-government was abolished. Student organizations corresponding to the fraternities of American universities had their houses confiscated and turned into dormitories for the freshmen under Party control. Seminars were generally poorly attended owing to afternoon Party drill, the classes of professors dealing with military or political subjects were crowded, the students were enthusiastic about the next war and filled with hatred and contempt for the democracies which the Nazi school and the Hitler Youth had taught them to despise. **

The anti-religious attitude of the Nazis was already

* Ziemer, Gregor, *loc. cit.*

** Compare Werner Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 98: 'The German university under National Socialism is no longer a university.'

mentioned in connection with elementary and high school education. Yet it seems necessary here to comment further on the problem of Nazi doctrine versus Christian religion, as the Nazi way of dealing with religious bodies and individuals in their own land reveals the typical mixture of falsehood and brutality, wellknown from their dealings with other peoples, directed against their own population.

When Hitler seized power in 1933, the Nazis were careful to stress clause 24 of their Party Program which read as follows: "The Party stands on the platform of positive Christianity." It is doubtful whether the rank and file of the Nazi Party ever knew what this term "positive Christianity" meant—it corresponds to Fundamentalism in this country—but it is true that this clause led millions of Christians in Germany to believe that everything would be all right under the new regime.

However, it soon became evident by the development of the Nazi policy toward the Christian Churches that everything was wrong. The Hitler government made a solemn concordat with the Holy See guaranteeing to the Roman Catholic Church all religious and educational freedoms and only demanding that the Church should abstain from political activities—but this concordat was broken almost from the moment of its existence on, monasteries and church school buildings were confiscated, youth groups were dissolved, priests were arrested on trumped-up accusations, the Church press was silenced and all the prerogatives of the Church were abrogated.

With the Protestant and Reformed Churches the government followed a different but no less deadly

policy. As far back as 1933, it demanded that these Churches, as all other cultural bodies in Nazi Germany, should obey the two basic Nazi rules, that of 'racial purity' for their members and that of the 'leadership principle' for their organization. This meant that they should dismiss all 'non-Aryan' Christians and abolish all democratic usages, free discussions, secret vote, etc. It was required that the Protestant Churches should adopt new constitutions, and the government tried to force on them a very unpopular Nazi-minded clergyman as Reichsbischof. It was then that the Protestant and Reformed Churches went into opposition, and in the Synod of Barmen in 1934 proclaimed that they would not dismiss any members or any clergymen because of 'non-Aryan' descent, that they stood on the basis of the Bible as an entity (the Nazis had already begun to demand that the Old Testament and the Epistles of Paul should be dropped), that they stood by the confessions of faith of their respective founders (Calvin and Luther)—hence the term *Confessional Church*—and that they demanded that the Third Reich should abstain from attacks on Christianity and Christian education.

The Nazi government, enraged by this unexpected opposition, answered with arrests of numbers of Protestant clergymen and laymen, succeeded in splitting up the Protestant Church into the so-called 'German Christians' who were willing to make a foul compromise with Nazi lore, and the Confessional Church. Nevertheless the Nazis were not able to overcome the resistance of true Christians, though the Gestapo was given a free hand in the persecution of the 'Confessional' clergy and laity. The leader of the Protestant opposition

in Germany, D. Martin Niemoeller, suffered as a martyr for his Christian faith in a concentration camp for more than eight years.

His is by no means an isolated case: thousands of Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen and laymen and women were arrested, imprisoned, deprived of office, forbidden to preach, to travel or to teach in a vain attempt to destroy Christianity. The war neither changed that policy of the Nazis nor silenced the voices of the resisting Christian clergy and laity against the destructive anti-religious and anti-moral educational tendency of the Nazi government. Now that the war is over the Christian Churches will be among the strongest forces to rebuild education in a new Germany.

CHAPTER FOUR

OUTLOOK ON EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

MOTTO:

“Children must be taught that the greatness of a nation lies in the welfare and ideals of its own people and in its helpfulness in international affairs.”

Dean Virginia Gildersleeve

The war in Europe having ended with defeat and destruction of the German armies and the German Reich, the question of educational reconstruction, of re-education and re-orientation of the German people becomes decisive for securing lasting peace. It is not any more a theoretical problem as two years ago, when the British Commission on Post-War Education met in London with the Joint Committee of the Council for Education in World Citizenship of all the United Nations and solemnly declared that “while the occupying powers enforce the physical disarmament of Germany and forbid the teaching and training of German youth in militarist and aggressively nationalist doctrines, the German people must work out their own salvation.”

Not that there was anything wrong with this declaration. But things have taken such a turn toward large-scale catastrophe in Germany in the last months of the war, that a German resurrection based on the country's

own strength, seemingly realizable a year or so ago, becomes next to impossible today. Impossible in the face of the total disintegration not only of the military power but also of the political structure of the country.

A year ago it seemed still possible to warn the United Nations that a High Commissioner of Education, set up in Germany for an indefinite time, might have the undesirable result of creating 'Quislings' out of co-operative elements and prevent the healing process of German selfeducation.* Today there will be nobody among the friends and foes of Germany who does not see that any action, relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and re-education must be organized and imposed by the occupation forces now, and Heaven only knows for what length of time this will be necessary. It is no longer possible to speak of the immediate aftermath of the war as of a comparable short interval between war and peace and to expect that a government will emerge soon able to take over: there will—so it seems today—be no government in Germany in the sense of a body representing the people's will for years to come, and the earlier we realise that this is the situation we have to face, the better for the gigantic task that lies ahead of us.

For it is evident that no difficulty relieves us of the most urgent double task, that of educating the children of Germany, and that of educating the teachers and parents of these children. This sounds paradoxical, but it is a paradox we have to get accustomed to.

* Ulich, Robert: The Problem of German Reeducation. *Social Research*, May, 1944.

The German children, many of them war-orphans, many homeless, hungry, sick, shellshocked, neglected, delinquent—as millions of European children of other nations are too—have one common characteristic that will be lacking in the children of the Czechs and the Poles, the Danes and the Norwegians, the French, the Belgians and the Dutch: the German children have for more than ten years been brought up on hate, not on hate of one common enemy as is the way of the world in war-times, but on hate of everybody and everything non-German. And it is this terrible teaching, this perversion of human love into hatred, that will make all reeducation in Germany into a most difficult task imposed upon the surviving generation.

Who shall educate the children of Germany? Two contrasting opinions have been voiced recently in books and pamphlets, in newspaper articles and weeklies on this question. One says that next to nothing can be entrusted to the Germans* and everything will have to be done for them by the occupation forces, including the selection and education of teachers and the writing and censoring of textbooks for the German schools. The other opinion, strongly supported by German refugee scholars like Ulich and Richter** and by the American Friends of German Freedom,*** wants to

* Louis Nizer, *What To Do With Germany*. Readers Book Service, New York, 1944.

** Ulich, Robert: *The Problem of German Re-education*, *loc. cit.*, and Richter, Werner: *Re-Educating Germany*, *loc. cit.*

*** *Germany Tomorrow*, The American Friends of German Freedom, New York, 1943.

leave everything in education to the German people and trusts that democratic elements inside Germany will come to the foreground and reeducate Germany into a peaceloving member of the family of nations.

It is evident that the necessity for quick action in occupied Germany makes it impossible, as Mr. Nizer proposes, to wait for the foundation and the functioning of an International University to train German teachers, to write German textbooks or to approve those written in Germany. Children must be schooled and taught, they cannot wait for years until ideal conditions have developed. The occupation forces in Aachen opened grade schools at the earliest possible moment with teachers selected as being anti-Nazis from among the remaining population and with textbooks reprinted by the thousands from German textbooks of the time of the German Republic.

Granted that such quick procedure leaves many doors open for mistakes, that makeshift solutions are never ideal and that, especially in the important question of teacher selection, pro-Nazis posing as anti-Nazis will most likely be reinstated in a number of cases and will have to be weeded out in later and more careful examinations. As to textbooks from the twenties of this century, they also will have to be replaced later, and refugee scholars in this country have already prepared German readers and history books which will be printed in Sweden and offered to the German schools as soon as possible with the approval of the occupation forces. *

* Published by the Bermann-Fischer Publishing House, New York and Stockholm.

The difficulty of selecting reliable teachers for the German schools will be very great indeed, regardless of the fact that not all the members of the teaching profession were ardent Nazis. Especially the young generation of teachers trained exclusively in the Nazi teachers colleges that were hotbeds of the 'Weltanschauung' drill must be regarded as unfit to teach in a democratic spirit unless they are carefully retrained. Of the older generation of teachers trained in the times of the Republic and the Empire many may be reliable, but they also will have to be carefully sifted to prevent secret anti-democratic teaching in the schools.

These difficulties come on top of a teacher shortage existing in Germany since 1938 and openly discussed in German educational periodicals before the outbreak of this war. This teacher shortage after years of teacher unemployment under the German Republic was the rather ironic result of the Nazi policy of encouraging teenage boys and girls to denounce their teachers and to look at the school as an evil they had to cope with. The same children that had threatened their own teachers with loss of office unless they rendered lip-service to the Nazi creed refused to be coaxed or bullied into the Nazi teachers colleges a few years later. Added to this teacher shortage must be the loss of teachers through war casualties. More than 50 per cent of the elementary school teachers of Germany and more than 40 per cent of the high school teachers were in the army by 1940, and the number of casualties among them will of course be very high.

What can be done to replace them is not easy to decide: older teachers, already retired, may be reinstated;

women teachers may again teach in boys' and coeducational schools as in Republican times. But it would be a mistake to believe that the women teachers of Germany were or are all anti-Nazi. Many of them also fell for Hitler.

There will be no other way out of this dilemma than the one taken by Russia in the twenties of this century: restricted educational facilities until a new generation of teachers has been trained that can be trusted. This may seem hard for a country with a centuries-old tradition of higher education, but it is certainly preferable to a repetition of the situation of the last years of the German Republic when teachers helped to undermine the state.

Besides, the destruction of great numbers of German towns will considerably change schools and schooling without adequate schoolhouses and equipment. Teachers and their charges will have to develop new ways of work in cooperative reconstruction, and perhaps such informal teaching will be the best means to retrain the young war generation into peaceful ways of living.*

How far the teachers, under control and supervision of the occupation authorities, will be able to re-write the necessary schoolbooks and to re-formulate the school curricula, remains to be seen. I cannot quite share Ulich's optimism in this respect. He speaks of a long tradition of educational selfgovernment in Germany and recommends administrative committees under the leadership of teachers selected by their colleagues to

* Ulich, Robert, *loc. cit.*

manage the schools. But the German tradition of school selfgovernment was limited to administrative functions mostly; school curricula were even in Republican times mostly drawn up by the state school boards. If it had not been so, the Nazis would never have been able to enforce their mixture of mysticism and materialism on the schools. The time of the freedom of the German Republic was far too short and, with exceptions, not welcome to the teaching profession. Experimental schools that managed their own affairs, wrote their own school curricula and were fully selfgoverning bodies did exist in Thuringia, Saxony, in Hamburg and Berlin for a time, but they were not the rule in Germany.

All this points to the dire necessity of adult education as a prerequisite for re-educating the young generation. Every report that comes from occupied Germany today about the attitude of the civilian population toward the war shows that many people now blame Hitler and his government for losing the war, but few if any reproach him for starting it or seem to know about the ways the Nazi government conquered and ruled other peoples. In other words, the Nazi indoctrination forced like a gigantic straitjacket on the entire population for more than twelve years has had the deplorable result of widespread ignorance about the issues of this war.

How quickly and thoroughly this ignorance can be remedied is one of the major problems of adult education for Germany. Nizer * recommends required lectures during the lunch-hours in every office and factory and

* Nizer, Louis: What To Do With Germany, *loc. cit.*

would have every German forcefully retrained in democracy in a week's study-course as part of his yearly vacation. But such proposals smell of fascism and ought not to be used if the expected result is to be freedom. If the radio and the screen were pressed into service for information about what really happened in Warsaw and Amsterdam, in Lidice and Lublin, in the concentration camps of Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia,—if the adult education centers of the Republican times were reopened in every school as soon as possible with free study groups and free discussions on problems of politics, government, current events and economics, with reliable source material and able teachers, the democratic elements of the German population would be strengthened and the lies and falsifications of the Hitler regime would be recognized.

It is for such adult education centers that foreign teachers with an adequate knowledge of the German language might be welcome, whereas the plans to educate young children by others than native teachers are certainly doomed to failure.

Yet it is not only a re-evaluation of the immediate past, the Nazi period of government and the crimes committed by this government that has to be achieved. Greater things are at stake, deeper problems must be solved. An attempt must be made to change the attitude of an entire population towards war: their easy enthusiasm for parades, uniforms, banners, their readiness to give in to mass hysteria, their willingness to sacrifice sound judgment of objective facts to self-pity, their inclination to obey orders against their own better feelings and to

indulge in cruelty and brutality must be recognized by them as what they are: a gigantic self-deception caused by an inferiority complex of long standing.* On the basis of their own former great achievements in philosophy, religion, science and art the Germans must learn to re-orientate themselves, to look for model and pattern rather towards Kant, Humboldt and Lessing, towards Goethe and Schiller, Beethoven and Mozart, Duerer and Luther than towards Frederick the Great, Bismarck and Hitler.

The majesty of law and order, the inviolability of a given word, a contract and a treaty will have to be re-established in private and in public life in Germany. It will have to be understood that it was a shameful moral downfall of an entire people to drag the idea of law down to the level of mere usefulness; ("what is useful to Germany is right" was a Nazi slogan),—of a people whose noblest self-expression was once the categorical imperative of Immanuel Kant: "Act in such a way that the motive of your action can be the basis of legislation."

Secret re-armament, Nazi underground revengeful planning for a third world war can only be avoided if the re-education and rehabilitation of the German people follows the lines taken by Denmark after her defeat in 1864, by Sweden and Norway who were once military powers and became neutral nations great in the

* Lewis, Cecil: *The Re-Education of Germany*, University of Toronto Quarterly, April, 1943, makes the unstability of the history of Germany during the last three centuries responsible for this inferiority complex of the German people.

arts of peace, by the small and proud democracies of Holland and Switzerland. No Lebensraum-theory of aggressiveness can save a defeated people. The lesson will have to be learned that the dignity of a nation does not depend on military victories but on a high standard of living for the entire population, on freedom of speech and worship, on a humane system of education, on active cooperation of citizens in administration, jurisdiction, government.

An important side-issue of German adult re-education is constituted by the hundreds of thousands of war prisoners now in Allied hands. In the earlier stages of this war Walter Kotschnig wrote in his book 'Slaves need No Leaders': * "Those Germans . . . who find themselves in the prisoner-of-war camps are beyond the reach of Dr. Goebbels. There is evidence that some of them at least are eager to learn . . . Would it not be worthwhile to experiment with the re-education of these German prisoners in the hope that the best of them will later on help their people to find saner perspectives?"

Many voices have since been raised to urge such treatment of W.P., but with the exception of Russia the United Nations have for a long time been very reluctant to try to re-educate war prisoners, owing to the fact that they were signatories to the Geneva Convention on War Prisoners which forbids the use of political propaganda in prison camps.

* Kotschnig, Walter, 'Slaves Need No Leaders,' Oxford University Press, 1943.

Late, but not too late, the W.P. authorities permitted newspapers printed in German in this country of reliable anti-Nazi tendency to be circulated in the prison camps, and quite recently the War Department started training W.P.s in World-History and Democracy in order to change their outlook on Germany and her relations to the world.

The state of mind in which the war veterans return to their defeated country will certainly be of great importance not only for Germany but for all Europe. But whether the former war prisoners will become co-operative elements will largely depend not only on the treatment they received in prison camps and on the idea of the working of democracy that they have been able to conceive here, but on the economic situation they will find in their country when they return.

This leads to the contemplation of the next age-group, the youths of teenage who were all members of the Hitler youth and who are often called a 'lost generation.' Ulich * recommends constructive activities for them, comparable to the hiking customs of free youth groups of pre-Hitler times, as the negative measure of dissolving the Hitler youth leaves them frustrated and an easy victim to secret Nazi planning. It is frequently claimed in these days that the entire German young generation was and still is under Nazi influence, that no indication of a change of mind and heart is discernible and that there was, in Germany, no such thing as an 'underground movement' comparable to that of the former occupied and now liberated countries.

* Ulich, Robert, *loc. cit.*

These contentions, however emphatically repeated to indicate the danger of the 'lost generation' in post-war Germany, do not hold good for the entire young German population. The facts of the student uprising in Munich after the catastrophe of Stalingrad in 1942 are well known. But the wording of their secret manifesto ought to be noted. It reads:

"The day of reckoning has come, the day of reckoning of our German youth with the most despicable tyranny under which our people has ever suffered We grew up in a state in which every free expression of opinion was gagged. Hitler Youth, Storm Troopers, S.S. have put us in uniform and crippled our intellect Our interest is in true scholarship and in genuine freedom of spirit. No threats can frighten us, not even threats of closing our universities The name of Germany will be shamed for ever if German youth does not finally rise to take revenge, to destroy its tormentors and create a new Europe, a Europe of the spirit." *

The authors of this manifesto and leaders of this Munich student uprising—a one-legged war veteran just returned from Stalingrad and two girl students among them,—were arrested and executed. Nor is theirs an isolated and therefore negligible case. On July 4, 1944 the Nazi paper *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* reprinted an article from the army paper "Front und Heimat" describing the trial in the people's court of a number of students from the University of Greifswald and of a group of high school boys and girls who had cooperated

*Quoted from *The Christian Century*, September 27, 1944: *German Youth—A Lost Generation?* By Martin Hall.

with them in working out a plan for the 'salvation of Germany.' They had intended to transmit the plan to a foreign bishop; the bishop was to hand it over to Churchill at the moment of Germany's defeat in order to convince England of the existence of reliable democratic forces in Germany. However fantastic such a plan might seem, the Nazis thought it serious enough to impose the death penalty on some of these youngsters. The newspaper report ends with the laconic statement: "The case was concluded with a number of death sentences."

To send 'especially difficult juveniles' to reformatories and 'incurables and asocial elements' to 'youth protection camps,' alias concentration camps, seems by no means a rare occurrence in the Nazi dealing with their own young generation. * Though it will have to be granted that many of these cases may belong to the wave of juvenile delinquency rising all over the world under wartime conditions, heightened in Germany through the disruption of the homes by bombing and invasion, the fact seems established that German youth does not solely consist of enthusiastic followers of Hitler, which was not even the case in the beginning of the era that now draws to its end of despair and defeat.

As to the underground anti-Nazi movement in Germany, it existed from the beginning of the Hitler era in small groups all over Germany; its comparative inefficiency and lack of power can be explained in two ways: the ruthless terror of the Gestapo that stamped

* Hall, Martin, *loc. cit.*

out many of these groups from 1933 on, and the undeniable fact that it is very much more difficult to stand up against one's own government than against an invader. However admirable the underground movement was in France and Belgium, in Czechoslovakia and Poland, in Norway and Denmark, they had the inestimable advantage of fighting the common enemy in standing up against Nazi terror. Only future historians will perhaps be able fairly to evaluate what actually happened behind the closed doors of Nazi torture chambers to German socialists and communists, to students of theology chased from their universities and systematically beaten up in labor camps, to many of those who might have been the torch bearers of an uprising of German youth against the Nazis.

Undoubtedly one of the gravest problems of post-war re-education in Germany is constituted by the boys and girls between the age of ten and twenty, who were all members of the Hitler Youth, have all been indoctrinated into a hatred of democracy, have been brought up on the master-race dogma, the blood-and-soil mysticism, the Jewish-world-enemy-theory and the whole conglomeration of anti-human slogans.

But whether they will have to be considered as a 'lost generation' or can be re-educated depends not only on their parents and teachers but to a large extent also on the economic situation in which Germany and indeed the whole world will be when they are growing up into man- and womanhood. It must not be forgotten that one of the stepping-stones to power for Hitler was the desperate situation of the young unemployed. An-

other Hitler may arise out of the inability or unwillingness of another post-war world to stem the tide of unemployment, or in other words to grant Germany a share in global trade and industrial cooperation. These are not mere educational problems, but they are so intimately bound up with the chances of re-education that they had to be mentioned here.

There remains one more problem to be discussed in the field of educational reconstruction in post-war Germany: that of the possibility of religious re-education of the Nazi-trained generations. The Christian churches in Germany, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have aroused the sympathy and admiration of the religious world by their brave opposition to Nazi rule and by their attempts to shield German youth from the devastating moral destruction of Nazi indoctrination. *

But the great majority of the German young have been brought up in school and Hitler Youth without religious training and—which is worse still—have been indoctrinated with a definite hatred of the Christian religion. The number of Christian homes that stood up against this influence cannot be counted, only estimated, and it is probably relatively small.

The breakdown of the Nazi government and party will certainly increase the inclination of many German parents who belong to a Christian denomination to have their children re-trained in the Christian faith and confirmed in church. This however will primarily affect

* Herman, Stewart W.: 'It's Your Souls We Want,' Harper Brothers, New York, 1943.

younger children, and these do not constitute the most serious educational problem either from the point of view of religious or of general education: for them life starts more or less anew and the home, the school and the church have to fulfil their educational duties toward them as best they can.

It is again the teenage and also the generation now between twenty and thirty that offer the greatest problems, and the Christian churches in Germany will indeed have to prove their mettle if they want to win back these young people. It is not only the question of re-gaining a young generation for the churches as active members of the congregations, though this also is a serious enough question. The hardest war the Christian churches in Germany will have to wage for the souls of these boys and girls, these young men and women, is to break down their attitude of obstinate pride, of overbearing and stubborn haughtiness, of irony and skepticism, of unbelief and doubt, in short to cope with the whole tragic outcome of Nazi training.

Here lies a source of what an American psychiatrist recently called paranoia and attributing it to the whole German population pronounced it curable only through expert medical treatment. * In this generalization he is certainly wrong, though many cases of this sort may indeed lie in the field of the psychiatrist. For the young generation drilled into the hybris of the master-race and the suppression of the voice of their own conscience the age-old teachings of the Christian churches

* Brickner, Richard M.: 'Is Germany Curable?' Atlantic Monthly, March and April, 1943.

will be all important. How far will it be possible to win them over to repentance and confession of sin, to prayer and humility, to the acceptance of Divine Grace and and the understanding of what it means to be a child of God? There will be no other salvation for the 'lost generation' than the one offered and practised by the Christian churches. *

Which agencies from outside Germany—not counting the occupation forces and their relief and rehabilitation activities in the immediate aftermath of the war—may be expected to assist in the difficult process of German re-education?

The American Friends Service Committee—known and respected in Germany—have already voiced their decision to help in reconstruction and rehabilitation. As their centuries-old tradition of helping and healing is well-known in Germany from the last post-war period, their cooperation will be most welcome, their influence might help to overcome bitterness, humiliation and misunderstanding.

Equally welcome will be German-speaking clergymen from the American Lutheran Churches who are planning to help the Lutheran Churches in Germany in the great shortage of preachers resulting from the closing down of Theological faculties in most German universities during the Nazi era. How far missionaries from other churches will be able to assist remains to be seen.

* Compare Werner Richter, *op. cit.* pp. 156-157: "Christianity alone can free Germany completely from the demons which have obsessed mankind during the last generation."

Switzerland may send clergymen and teachers. The Ecumenical Council and the Ecumenical Movement have never quite got out of touch with the Christians in Germany; world prayer days and communion services were observed throughout the world, and these channels of understanding and brotherly love may be expected to get into operation comparatively quickly, if the Churches in Germany do not repeat the mistakes of the last post-war period to 'hide defeat under garlands of tradition' but consent to the only way of common Christian cooperation, an open confession of sin, of their share in the terrible sins of the government of the Nazis. The Pope has already pronounced his willingness to alleviate suffering of Roman Catholics in Germany, and the Roman Catholic Church will certainly be among the important constructive elements in post-war Germany; it may even be willing to cooperate not only with Protestant Churches but also with Labor groups.

How far the planned Office of International Education of the new League of Nations will be able to assist in the reformation of German education, cannot be said in advance and remains an open question, as Germany will for a longer or shorter period not be a member of the United Nations Organization. The proposals to exchange students and teachers on a far larger scale than was previously done, to have the young people of post-war Europe meet with the young generation of the Americas in international work-camps are certainly sound. But who will in the years to come, receive German students and teachers in the atmosphere of accumulated hatred of the former victims of German aggression?

The plans to submit textbooks of all nations to international scrutiny and to warn a nation whose school-books show a tendency of aggressive nationalism point in the right direction, that it is the poisoning of the youthful minds that leads to war and that must be avoided.

How soon will the German universities be able to resume their former role of independent research and teaching after having so ignominiously surrendered their autonomy to Nazi rule? This important decision will certainly not be left to the German scholars and students only. It will largely depend on the decision of the Occupation Forces whether the highest institutes of learning in Germany can be trusted to cooperate for World Citizenship. In view of the terrible catastrophe a third world war would mean to all mankind it is understandable that such a decision will not be made without the most serious and far-reaching scrutiny.

“The task of completing the delayed democratic revolution in Germany must be entrusted to the German people,” said the authors of ‘Germany Tomorrow.’ This will only be true if Germany will again become a Christian country and a democracy, able and willing to join the United Nations Organization. Otherwise she will never rise from the depths of crime and shame to which the Nazi government has dragged her down.

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